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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary
CHILDREN'S BUREAU
GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

CHILDREN OF PRESCHOOL AGE IN GARY, IND.

PART I. GENERAL CONDITIONS AFFECTING CHILD WELFARE

BY
ELIZABETH HUGHES

PART II. DIET OF THE CHILDREN

BY
LYDIA ROBERTS

Bureau Publication No. 122

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SHANTY IN SEASONAL WORKERS' CAMP, HOUSING 95 PERSONS.

[Dimensions, approximately 60 by 20 by 16 feet.]

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
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CHILD LABOR

ON

MARYLAND TRUCK FARMS

BY

ALICE CHANNING

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CHILD LABOR ON MARYLAND TRUCK FARMS.

INTRODUCTION.

The following study[1] of children who work on truck farms in Maryland was made in Anne Arundel County near Baltimore, and in Wicomico, Somerset, and Worcester Counties, which lie in that section of the State known as the Peninsula or Eastern Shore.

TRUCK FARMING IN MARYLAND.

Truck farming in the United States had not developed to any extent before 1890, but with improvement in the transportation of perishable products the industry has developed rapidly throughout the country in the last 30 years.[2] The Gulf States and California, known as the "winter gardens of the north," lead in the production of winter vegetables; Maryland and near-by States send their produce to northern cities in the spring and early summer months; later in the season the farms of northern States supply both northern and southern markets.

On account of their accessibility to large city markets sections of the States of Maryland and Virginia and parts of New Jersey and Delaware were among the first in the country to develop "trucking." The development in Maryland, on the eastern and western shores of Chesapeake Bay, is due to the good transportation facilities by rail and water, to the equable climate, and to the light sandy soil, which when fertilized is well adapted to the growth of early vegetables. In Somerset, Wicomico, and Worcester Counties on the eastern shore of the bay and in Anne Arundel County on the western shore the acreage planted in truck was in 1920, according to the United States census figures, from 13 to 17 per cent of the improved farm land, which may be compared with a truck acreage of 6 per cent of the improved farm land in the whole State. In Anne Arundel County the trucking section is concentrated in a small area south of Baltimore, general farm crops and tobacco being raised in the rest of the

[1] This study is one of a series being made by the Children's Bureau which deals with the problem of rural child labor. The following reports in this series have been published or are in press: Child Labor and the Work of Mothers in the Beet Fields of Colorado and Michigan, Publication No. 115; Child Welfare in Cotton-Growing Areas of Texas. Studies similar to that made in Maryland have recently been completed in the "trucking" areas of New Jersey and Virginia.

[2] Development and Localization of Truck Crops in the United States. Separate from Yearbook of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1916, No. 702. Washington, 1917.

county. On the Peninsula the trucking areas are more widely distributed; the more important are near Salisbury in Wicomico County, near Princess Anne and Marion in Somerset County, and near Berlin and Snow Hill in Worcester County. In Anne Arundel County a great variety of vegetables and small fruits is grown; on the Eastern Shore strawberries and Irish and sweet potatoes are the most important truck crops.

On account of the intensive nature of truck growing the farms are small, as a rule, and much hand labor is used. Hand labor in harvesting perishable crops is essential; beans, strawberries, tomatoes, and melons must be hand picked. Even where machines are used to dig potatoes the latter must be picked up by hand, and though green peas are sometimes threshed by machine when sold to canneries, they must be picked by hand for the market. The picking of most crops is simple and can be done by children. The large truck farmers of Anne Arundel County import Polish women and children from Baltimore for picking; on the Eastern Shore local labor is generally employed, though some negro labor is imported. The owners of the larger farms in both sections employ laborers or have tenants living on their farms; on the small farms the farmer and his wife and children do most of the work.

The only regulation of the work of children on farms in Maryland is the indirect restriction imposed by the State compulsory education law,[3] since the child-labor law, except possibly as regards employment during school hours of children required to attend school, applies only to a specific list of occupations, which does not include agricultural pursuits.

SCOPE AND METHOD OF STUDY.

The purpose of the survey was to study the work of children on truck farms, and the areas chosen for intensive study were localities in which the principal truck crops are raised. The areas were selected after consultation with county agricultural agents and school officials, and, for purposes of convenience, were usually coextensive with the school districts. In the Peninsula counties the names and addresses of all children under 16 years of age enrolled in the schools of the selected districts were secured from the school records and their attendance records copied; in Anne Arundel County school records were secured only for children enrolled in the schools who reported that they had worked on a farm during the year preceding the inquiry. The families of these children were then visited and detailed information secured concerning all of them who had worked on a truck farm at any time during the preceding 12 months. In

[3] See p. 17.

the Anne Arundel area a house-to-house canvass was also made for children who worked on farms and whose names were not on the school record. In this way many children were found who belonged to the families of migratory workers from Baltimore. The school records of these children were later obtained from Baltimore public and parochial schools. The survey made in the Eastern Shore counties during the latter part of May and June, 1921, and in Anne Arundel County during June and July, 1921, covered part of the strawberry-picking season on the Eastern Shore and parts of the bean and strawberry-picking seasons in Anne Arundel County.

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RESIDENT CHILD WORKERS ON TRUCK FARMS IN ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY.

The area in Anne Arundel County chosen for study is a small part of the county adjacent to Baltimore in which the truck farms of the county are concentrated. A large percentage of the farm land under cultivation in this area is given up to truck, general crops being seldom grown. While some of the truck farms in this area are comparatively large—from 200 to 300 acres—the majority are smaller, farms of from 50 to 100 acres predominating. It is customary for children of owners of small farms, both white and negro, to help both with the general farm work and in the harvesting season. Children of the larger landholders, however, do not as a rule work on the farms. On the larger truck farms hired negro laborers, resident in the area, do the general farm work and white laborers imported from Baltimore do the seasonal work.

Of the 808 white and negro children who were interviewed because they had done farm work during the preceding year, about one-third were children of farm owners and tenants, one-third were children who were hired by the day as laborers and who lived in the locality, and the remaining one-third were children in migratory families coming in for seasonal work. (Table 1.) These migratory children lived and worked under such different conditions from children whose homes were in the area that they are discussed in a separate section—Migratory Child Workers in Anne Arundel County, page 23.

TABLE 1.—*Working status of children in families interviewed, by sex and race; Anne Arundel County.*

Working status of child.	Children under 16 years of age.					
	Total.		White.		Negro.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	808	100.0	480	100.0	328	100.0
Resident laborer	540	66.8	218	45.4	322	98.2
Home farm	286	35.4	187	39.0	99	30.2
Farm owned	255	31.6	166	34.6	89	27.1
Farm rented	31	3.8	21	4.4	10	3.0
Other farm	254	31.4	31	6.5	223	68.0
Migratory laborer	268	33.2	262	54.6	6	1.8
Boys	415	100.0	254	100.0	161	100.0
Resident laborer	279	67.2	118	46.5	161	100.0
Home farm	154	37.1	102	40.2	52	32.3
Farm owned	143	34.5	95	37.4	48	29.8
Farm rented	11	2.7	7	2.8	4	2.5
Other farm	125	30.1	16	6.3	109	67.7
Migratory laborer	136	32.8	136	53.5		
Girls	393	100.0	226	100.0	167	100.0
Resident laborer	261	66.4	100	44.2	161	96.4
Home farm	132	33.6	85	37.6	47	28.1
Farm owned	112	28.5	71	31.4	41	24.6
Farm rented	20	5.1	14	6.2	6	3.6
Other farm	129	32.8	15	6.6	114	68.3
Migratory laborer	132	33.6	126	55.8	6	3.6

THE WORKERS' FAMILIES.

Of the 540 children who lived in the area and worked on farms, 322, or three-fifths, were negro and 218 were white. The majority of the white children were farmers' children, 76 per cent being children of farm owners and 10 per cent those of tenants. About one-half—36 out of 73—of the white farm owners whose children worked were foreign born, chiefly Polish and German. Situated near a large city, the area has been much modified in population by recent immigrations. The families of the foreign born were less prosperous than the native white farmers whose children worked. Although most of them could speak English, many were illiterate, one or both parents in 13 of the 36 families being unable to read and write in any language—about the same proportion of illiteracy as that reported by the negro parents. Only 14 per cent of the resident white children included in the study were hired laborers. These included only one family of children whose parents were of foreign birth.

Most of the 322 resident negro children, on the other hand, were hired by the day, less than one-third being the children of owners or tenants. (Table 1.) Many child workers in the families of negro farm operators worked also as hired hands on other than the home farm, a practice which was not customary among white farmers' children. The farms of negro farm owners were smaller than those of either native or foreign-born white farmers, averaging about 20 acres, as compared with an average of between 50 and 100 acres for white farm owners. The fathers of the negro children working as hired laborers were either farm laborers or laborers on the roads, or worked at the near-by military camps or on the Baltimore docks.

The differences in financial status among the white families and the uniformly poor economic condition of the negro families whose children did farm work are indicated by the types of houses and the localities in which they lived as well as by the size of the farms. The homes of the white families were usually in a thickly settled farming district where nearly all the land was under cultivation, but the homes of the negro families were for the most part in a region where waste lands, swamps, and woodlands were more generally seen than tilled fields. A few white families lived in large houses with modern conveniences, a few in tumble-down two-room shacks, but the majority occupied houses of from four to six rooms which had, however, the usual outside privy and no running water. Negro families, whether they lived on small farms or in villages, usually lived in two-storied, unpainted cabins of three or four rooms. Such cabins were not always provided with even an outside privy, and the water supply was secured from shallow wells or springs and brooks.

Overcrowding occurred among both white and negro families. Fourteen per cent of the 95 white families and 32 per cent of the 151 negro families reported two or more persons per room. (Table 2.) Of the 13 white families who reported overcrowding, 8 were foreign born.

TABLE 2.—*Average number of persons per room in resident families, by race; Anne Arundel County.*

Average number of persons per room.	White families.		Negro families.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	95	100.0	151	100.0
Less than 1	7	7.4	16	10.6
1, less than 2	75	78.9	86	57.0
2, less than 3	10	10.5	37	24.5
3, less than 5	3	3.2	10	6.6
5, less than 7	.....	.....	1	.7
Not reported	.....	.....	1	.7

CHILDREN'S WORK ON TRUCK FARMS.

Approximately one-half of the 218 white and 322 negro children whose homes were in this area and who worked on farms were girls. Of these children, both boys and girls, 8.3 per cent had not reached their eighth and 28.5 per cent their tenth birthday. The ages at which they had begun farm work varied little with their nationality, but white boys started to work at earlier ages than white girls and hired children did not do field work at as early ages as farmers' children. Fifty-three of the 132 white and negro children who were 14 years of age or more when interviewed had started field work before they were 10 years of age and 84 before they were 12.

Kinds of work.

Children in this area work on almost all the crops that are raised there. The most important crops are green beans, green peas, tomatoes, strawberries, cantaloupes, and sweet potatoes, but sweet corn, cabbage, squash, green peppers, and eggplant are also grown. The work done by two boys, children of the owner of one of the larger truck farms, illustrates the kinds of crops and the variety of work on each crop. Both boys, 13 and 15 years of age, respectively, did the same work—plowed and harrowed; planted peas, beans, white potatoes, sweet corn, and peppers; transplanted cantaloupes and eggplants, and "dropped" sweet potatoes; thinned corn and eggplants; hoed or weeded all crops; sprayed potatoes and tomatoes; "bugged" potatoes; cut corn; picked strawberries, peas, beans, cantaloupes, eggplant, apples, and peaches; loaded wagons with vegetables, and sorted cantaloupes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and peppers.

White children did a greater variety of work than negro children. The latter were usually hired only for picking strawberries, beans, peas, and tomatoes, though occasionally also for transplanting, hoeing, and weeding. Children under 10 years of age were usually employed only at picking and at the easier kinds of planting and transplanting, but older girls, in addition to such work, did hoeing and weeding, and boys 12 years of age and more, in addition to the easier kinds of work, also plowed, cultivated, and harrowed. (Tables 3, 4, and 5.)

Almost every child who does farm work in this locality helps at harvesting time. More than nine-tenths of the children included in the present study had picked green vegetables or strawberries or both, and over one-third had helped harvest Irish or sweet potatoes or both. Picking beans was reported by nearly two-thirds of the children, and picking strawberries, tomatoes, and peas was also reported by large numbers. (Table 4.) Fewer children, one-fifth and one-sixth, respectively, reported that they had picked cucumbers and melons.

TABLE 3.—*Ages of children in resident families doing each specified kind of field work, by race; Anne Arundel County.*

Kind of field work and race.	Children under 16 years of age doing each specified kind of field work.										
	Total.	Under 8 years.		8 years, under 10.		10 years, under 12.		12 years, under 14.		14 years, under 16.		Age not reported.
		Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	
White	218	19	8.7	44	20.2	48	22.0	59	27.1	48	22.0	.....
Plowing	49	.....	.....	1	.....	5	.....	17	.....	26	.....	.....
Harrowing	59	.....	.....	2	3.4	9	15.3	21	35.6	27	45.8	.....
Planting	93	4	4.3	12	12.9	18	19.4	29	31.2	30	32.3	.....
Cultivating	52	.....	.....	1	1.9	10	19.2	15	28.8	26	50.0	.....
Hoeing	97	.....	.....	9	9.3	18	18.6	33	34.0	37	38.1	.....
Weeding	119	7	5.9	16	13.4	24	20.2	43	36.1	29	24.4	.....
Spraying	33	1	.....	1	.....	5	.....	9	.....	17	.....	.....
Transplanting	169	10	5.9	27	16.0	37	21.9	51	30.2	44	26.0	.....
Thinning	57	2	3.5	5	8.8	13	22.8	18	31.6	19	33.3	.....
Picking	195	12	6.2	40	20.5	47	24.1	50	25.6	46	23.6	.....
Gathering potatoes	119	5	4.2	16	13.4	23	19.3	36	30.3	39	32.8	.....
Shucking, or husking corn	26	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	.....
Saving fodder[2]	24	.....	.....	3	.....	4	.....	6	.....	11	.....	.....
Negro	322	26	8.1	65	20.2	77	23.9	67	20.8	84	26.1	3
Plowing	34	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	6	.....	25	.....	1
Harrowing	38	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	7	.....	27	.....	1
Planting	86	2	2.3	10	11.6	16	18.6	14	16.3	43	50.0	1
Cultivating	39	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	27	.....	1
Hoeing	134	5	3.7	10	7.5	23	17.2	36	26.9	58	43.3	2
Weeding	87	3	3.4	7	8.0	23	26.4	17	19.5	35	40.2	2
Spraying	6	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....
Transplanting	160	9	5.6	22	13.8	31	19.4	38	23.8	57	35.6	3
Thinning	44	.....	.....	2	.....	9	.....	9	.....	23	.....	1
Picking	299	23	7.7	61	20.4	72	24.1	63	21.1	77	25.8	3
Gathering potatoes	70	5	7.1	5	7.1	13	18.6	13	18.6	33	47.1	1
Shucking, or husking corn	6	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....
Saving fodder[2]	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	3	.....	7	.....	.....

[1] Not shown where base is less than 50.

[2] Includes pitching and stacking.

Picking beans, peas, or strawberries requires little skill and can be done by children as soon as they are old enough to distinguish a mature pod or a ripe berry from a green one. In picking beans and peas the picker works in a half kneeling, half sitting position when the crop is good, turning back the vines with one hand and tossing the pods into the basket with the other, but when the crop is poor he is obliged to stand and bend over the low plants. The worker keeps the basket on the ground, placing it when full on his shoulder, carrying it to the end of the row, and emptying it into a sack. Sometimes the child has a burlap bag tied about his waist into which he puts the pods. Strawberry picking is very similar, for when the berries are plentiful the work can be done in a half sitting position, but when the crop is poor the worker must stand and bend over the plants. The amount of fatigue caused by picking strawberries or beans depends on how many hours it is necessary to work with back bent and knees cramped. Both white and negro children are employed on these crops, but relatively fewer negro children reported picking tomatoes, cucumbers, melons, and potatoes—crops which the farmers are usually able to get to market with the help of their wives or children or of their regular employees.

Tomato picking, which had been done by over two-thirds of the white children but by only one-third of the negro children, is harder work than picking beans or strawberries. The most difficult part of the work is not picking the fruit off the vines, though it is necessary to stand and stoop continuously, but carrying the hampers. A five-eighths bushel basket of tomatoes, the size commonly used, weighs, when full, about 40 pounds. Younger children are not always required, however, to "tote the baskets" but sometimes put the fruit they pick into the hampers of adults with whom they are working. Nearly two-fifths of the white children, few of whom were under 10 years of age, had picked cucumbers. The hampers of cucumbers, like baskets of tomatoes, are heavy to carry. (See illustration facing p. 10.) Melons are also heavy to handle and younger children can not be trusted to select ripe ones. One father said that for the latter reason he did not allow his two children 8 and 13 years of age to pick melons; he and his wife picked and the children "toted the baskets." Picking up potatoes was, like tomato and cucumber picking, reported by a larger proportion of white than negro children, by over one-half of the white as compared with one-fifth of the negro. The work is simple and can be done by children of all ages. They crawl along the rows on hands and knees, pick up the potatoes, knock or scratch off the dirt with their fingers, and throw the potatoes in piles or into baskets. Sweet potatoes are harvested like Irish potatoes, except that it is also necessary to break them from the vines. The hard work, loosening the potatoes

from the soil, is previously done by a plow or potato digger. Some of the older children, besides picking up the potatoes, carry the baskets to the edge of the field and dump the potatoes into barrels or into a wagon.

TABLE 4.—*Crops picked by children in resident families, by sex and race; Anne Arundel County.*

Crops picked, and sex.	Children under 16 years of age picking each specified crop.					
	Total.		White.		Negro.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Total	540	100.0	218	100.0	322	100.0
Strawberries	317	58.7	86	39.4	231	71.7
Beans	353	65.4	107	49.1	246	76.4
Peas	236	43.7	84	38.5	152	47.2
Tomatoes	255	47.2	149	68.3	106	32.9
Cucumbers	106	19.6	85	39.0	21	6.5
Melons	92	17.0	67	30.7	25	7.8
Blackberries, raspberries, and huckleberries	57	10.6	4	1.8	53	16.5
Other fruits and vegetables	92	17.0	63	28.9	29	9.0
Boys	279	100.0	118	100.0	161	100.0
Strawberries	138	49.5	38	32.2	100	62.1
Beans	161	57.7	55	46.6	106	65.8
Peas	102	36.6	39	33.1	63	39.1
Tomatoes	146	52.3	95	80.5	51	31.7
Cucumbers	67	24.0	56	47.5	11	6.8
Melons	69	24.7	52	44.1	17	10.6
Blackberries, raspberries, and huckleberries	31	11.1	4	3.4	27	16.8
Other fruits and vegetables	61	21.9	42	35.6	19	11.8
Girls	261	100.0	100	100.0	161	100.0
Strawberries	179	68.6	48	48.0	131	81.4
Beans	192	73.6	52	52.0	140	87.0
Peas	134	51.3	45	45.0	89	55.3
Tomatoes	109	41.8	54	54.0	55	34.2
Cucumbers	39	14.9	29	29.0	10	6.2
Melons	23	8.8	15	15.0	8	5.0
Blackberries, raspberries, and huckleberries	26	10.0	.....	.....	26	16.1
Other fruits and vegetables	31	11.9	21	21.0	10	6.2

Planting and transplanting various crops were reported by many of the children, especially by those who lived on farms. Over one-half (53.4 per cent) of the white and over one-third (36 per cent) of the negro boys reported that they had planted one or more crops; three-tenths (30 per cent) of the white girls but less than one-fifth (17.4 per cent) of the negro also reported planting. Of the group of 179 children who reported one or more kinds of planting, 50.8 per cent had planted cucumbers or melons, 48 per cent Irish potatoes, 41.9 per cent either sweet or field corn, 36.9 per cent beans, 20.7 per cent peas.

Some kinds of planting are simple. Planting Irish potatoes, for instance, which was reported by a few children between the ages of 8 and 10, consists in dropping pieces of potato by hand into a furrow already plowed for the purpose. The second planting of

PICKING EGGPLANT.

TWELVE-YEAR-OLD BOY CARRYING HAMPER OF CUCUMBERS.

corn, known as replanting, which consists of dropping seeds by hand into a drill, was also reported by children as young as 8 years. Few children under 10 years, however, planted melons or cucumbers, which though done by hand requires more judgment than either of the kinds of planting previously mentioned. The use of machines increases the difficulty and dangers of farm work for children and undoubtedly many who reported planting corn, beans, or peas operated the various hand or horse-drawn machines which are in common use in this area for planting. Information was not obtained as to the numbers of children using machines.

TABLE 5.—*Kinds of field work done by children in resident families, by sex and race; Anne Arundel County.*

Kind of field work, and sex.	Children under 16 years of age doing each specified kind of field work.					
	Total.		White.		Negro.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Total	540	100.0	218	100.0	322	100.0
Plowing	83	15.4	49	22.5	34	10.6
Harrowing	97	18.0	59	27.1	38	11.8
Planting	179	33.1	93	42.7	86	26.7
Cultivating	91	16.9	52	23.9	39	12.1
Hoeing	231	42.8	97	44.5	134	41.6
Weeding	206	38.1	119	54.6	87	27.0
Spraying	39	7.2	33	15.1	6	1.9
Transplanting	329	60.9	169	77.5	160	49.7
Thinning	101	18.7	57	26.1	44	13.7
Picking	494	91.5	195	89.4	299	92.9
Gathering potatoes	189	35.0	119	54.6	70	21.7
Shucking or husking corn	12	2.2	6	2.8	6	1.9
Saving fodder [1]	36	6.7	24	11.0	12	3.7
Boys	279	100.0	118	100.0	161	100.0
Plowing	81	29.0	47	39.8	34	21.1
Harrowing	92	33.0	54	45.8	38	23.6
Planting	121	43.4	63	53.4	58	36.0
Cultivating	85	30.5	48	40.7	37	23.0
Hoeing	140	50.2	66	55.9	74	46.0
Weeding	100	35.8	68	57.6	32	19.9
Spraying	32	11.5	26	22.0	6	3.7
Transplanting	193	69.2	101	85.6	92	57.1
Thinning	71	25.4	41	34.7	30	18.6
Picking	248	88.9	105	89.0	143	88.8
Gathering potatoes	109	39.1	71	60.2	38	23.6
Shucking or husking corn	7	2.5	4	3.4	3	1.9
Saving fodder [1]	27	9.7	20	16.9	7	4.3
Girls	261	100.0	100	100.0	161	100.0
Plowing	2	0.8	2	2.0	.....	.....
Harrowing	5	1.9	5	5.0	.....	.....
Planting	58	22.2	30	30.0	28	17.4
Cultivating	6	2.3	4	4.0	2	1.2
Hoeing	91	34.9	31	31.0	60	37.3
Weeding	106	40.6	51	51.0	55	34.2
Spraying	7	2.7	7	7.0	.....	.....
Transplanting	136	52.1	68	68.0	68	42.2
Thinning	30	11.5	16	16.0	14	8.7
Picking	246	94.3	90	90.0	156	96.9
Gathering potatoes	80	30.7	48	48.0	32	19.9
Shucking or husking corn	5	1.9	2	2.0	3	1.9
Saving fodder [1]	9	3.4	4	4.0	5	3.1

[1] Includes stacking and pitching.

A majority of the white children, over three-fourths (77.5 per cent), and one-half the negro, reported transplanting, usually tomatoes, sweet potatoes, or cantaloupes, though a few had transplanted strawberries, eggplants, green peppers, and other vegetables. Nearly one-half (44.2 per cent) the children under 10 years of age had done some kind of transplanting. Although they did not always specify what operation they had performed, it is probable that most of them had done some kind of hand transplanting, such, for instance, as "dropping" strawberry or sweet potato plants, a simple operation consisting only of walking along the plowed field and dropping a plant at regular intervals. The planting and "setting" of the plants is done by another worker who follows, digs a hole in the ground, and sets the plant in the hole. As one father remarked, "Any little child who can walk straight can be taught to drop, but planting takes sense." The transplanting of strawberries is usually, though not always, done by hand in this locality; tomatoes and sweet potatoes are usually transplanted with the aid of a hand or machine transplanter. Information was not obtained as to whether or not the children who reported transplanting tomatoes and sweet potatoes worked by hand or used a machine, nor was information obtained concerning the kinds of machines in common use in this area.[4] Hence precisely what difficulties the children experienced in their work can not be stated.

General farm work was done by a majority of the boys 12 years of age and more who worked on their fathers' farms, but few children were hired for general work other than hoeing. Negro boys, therefore, a large proportion of whom were hired hands, were not as likely as white boys to report that they had done plowing, harrowing, cultivating, spraying, and weeding. Few girls and few children under 12 years of age did any general work except hoeing and weeding. Hoeing, which was reported by over two-fifths of both the white and negro children, involves a certain amount of bending and is a fatiguing and monotonous task when done for many hours in the hot sun. Plowing, harrowing, and cultivating require physical strength. Although two-fifths of the white boys reported plowing and a somewhat greater proportion reported harrowing, it is significant that only 8 boys who had done plowing were under 12 years of age, one being 8 and another 9 years. One Polish father said he had learned by experience to be careful of his 2 boys, aged 12 and 14 years, because "my oldest, he got a rupture; we put him too young at the plow." Only 11 boys under 12 years and 1 girl had done cultivating. One boy of 8 who reported cultivating was learning under the supervision of his father, who said that he was strong enough for cultivating,

[4] The machine transplanter in common use on the Eastern Shore is described on p. 41.

but too young to plow. Another father said that he was "too particular with his crops to let his 12-year-old boy either plow or cultivate." The difficulties experienced in these kinds of work depend to a large extent on the kinds of machines used; information on this point was not obtained for Anne Arundel County.[5]

Except for plowing, harrowing, cultivating, and lifting heavy baskets of vegetables, the work which the children reported that they did does not require a great deal of physical strength. Endurance, however, is necessary. Most of the work is done in the summer months when the hot sun beats down upon the stretches of open fields. The constant walking over plowed ground under the hot sun—the children usually wear broad-brimmed straw hats and white children wear shoes and stockings—the monotonous nature of the work, and the continual stooping, which involves a strain on the muscles of the back and shoulders, combine to make the work fatiguing.

The length of the working-day.

In view of the difficulty of obtaining accurate data regarding the hours which the children worked, inquiry was made only as to the number of hours worked on the last typical day before the agent's visit. By limiting the inquiry to a single day, usually the day preceding the agent's visit, it was considered that the information secured would be accurate and that it would fairly represent the daily hours worked during the period covered by the agents' visits. Although the work was somewhat irregular, and the number of hours varied from day to day, the average hours worked on a large number of typical days would give a fair picture of the length of the average working-day. As the survey was made during part of the strawberry and bean picking seasons, more children reported picking than any other work on the day for which information regarding hours was secured. The hours for picking strawberries are limited by the fact that the berries can not be picked until the dew has dried off and by the fact that they must be shipped as soon as picked; the hours for picking beans are also limited, because the pods shrivel if picked during the middle of the day when the sun is very hot. During the season covered by the study also the working hours for bean picking were said to be shorter than those of a more typical season because of the poor crop. Hence the following account of the length of the working-day indicates a shorter day than is probably customary for children doing more general kinds of work on truck farms.

That the field work of the older boys was important and the work of the younger children relatively insignificant is indicated by the longer working-day of the former, which was commonly 8 or more

[5] For plowing by children on the Eastern Shore farms, see p. 42.

hours. (Table 6.) Of 58 white and negro boys 12 and 13 years of age who reported the number of hours worked in the field 31 had worked 9 or more hours and 6 had worked 12 or more hours. Of 66 boys 14 and 15 years of age 12 had also worked 12 or more hours. A few young children worked long hours; thus, 20 of the 81 negro children, though only 3 of the 46 white children, under 10 years of age, reporting hours, had worked 9 or more hours, an 8-year-old colored girl reporting on her last working-day 13 hours in the fields.

TABLE 6.—*Field hours of children in resident families on last working-day previous to agent's visit, by age and race; Anne Arundel County.*

Field hours on a typical working day, and race.	Children under 16 years of age doing field work.									
	Total.		Under 8 years.[1]	8 years, under 10.		10 years, under 12.		12 years, under 14.		14 years, under 16.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.		Number.	Per cent distribution.[1]	Number.	Per cent distribution.[1]	Number.	Per cent distribution.[1]	Number.	Per cent distribution.[1]
White	218	100.0	19	44	100.0	48	100.0	59	100.0	48	100.0
Less than 4 hours	58	26.6	9	20	.....	15	.....	11	18.6	3	.....
4 hours, less than 6	38	17.4	1	8	.....	9	.....	15	25.4	5	.....
6 hours, less than 8	24	11.0	3	1	.....	5	.....	9	15.3	6	.....
8 hours, less than 9	17	7.8	.....	1	.....	6	.....	4	6.8	6	.....
9 hours, less than 10	9	4.1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	3	5.1	4	.....
10 hours, less than 12	32	14.7	.....	1	.....	5	.....	9	15.3	17	.....
12 hours, less than 14	7	3.2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	3	5.1	3	.....
Not reported	33	15.1	6	11	.....	7	.....	5	8.5	4	.....
Negro	[2]322	100.0	26	65	100.0	77	100.0	67	100.0	84	100.0
Less than 4 hours	59	18.3	10	18	27.7	17	22.1	6	9.0	8	9.5
4 hours, less than 6	38	11.8	5	9	13.8	12	15.6	6	9.0	6	7.1
6 hours, less than 8	34	10.6	1	6	9.2	9	11.7	9	13.4	8	9.5
8 hours, less than 9	51	15.8	3	9	13.8	13	16.9	10	14.9	16	19.0
9 hours, less than 10	26	8.1	1	6	9.2	7	9.1	7	10.4	4	4.8
10 hours, less than 12	61	18.9	2	8	12.3	8	10.4	19	28.4	24	28.6
12 hours, less than 14	22	6.8	1	2	3.1	.....	.....	5	7.5	13	15.5
Not reported	31	9.6	3	7	10.8	11	14.3	5	7.5	5	6.0

[1] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.
[2] Includes 3 children for whom age was not reported.

Negro children as a whole worked much longer hours than white children, but no marked difference appeared between the hours of white children of native and foreign-born parentage. Of 162 white children who reported the number of hours worked, 81 had worked 8 or more hours, 51 of the 99 children of native and 30 of the 63 children of foreign-born parentage. Only 4 children of native and none of foreign parentage had worked from 13 to 14 hours on the day preceding the agent's visit. Three children of Hungarian parents, boys aged 13, 14, and 15 years, had worked picking cucumbers the day before the agent's visit from 5.30 a. m. to 12 o'clock and from 1 to 8 p. m. One-half of the white and one-third (33.3 per cent) of the negro children reporting had worked less than 6 hours; about one-third (35 per cent) of the white and nearly three-fifths (55 per

cent) of the negro children, 8 or more hours. About seven-tenths (69 per cent) of the negro children, it will be remembered, but only 14 per cent of the white children, were hired laborers, and these were not as likely as farmers' children to work less than 8 hours. Neither were they, on the other hand, as likely to work over 10 hours; their hours were more regular, being, as a rule, 8, 9, or 10.

In addition to the time spent working in the field, the chores or housework reported by most children made their total day's work a long one. Chores were reported by seven-tenths of the white boys and by two-fifths of the negro boys. One-half of the white girls and two-fifths of the negro also did chores. Chores consisted of feeding and caring for horses, cows, and pigs; cleaning out stables, milking cows, feeding chickens, chopping wood, and carrying water both for the household and for live stock. Practically all the white and four-fifths of the negro girls reported housework, which, on account of lack of modern household conveniences in most of the homes of the area, was more than usually burdensome. Some boys also helped with the housework. In one Polish family, for example, where the mother was working long hours in the field, the boys, besides their field work, took turns doing the washing. The time spent by the boys on chores or household duties was usually not so long as that spent by the girls, so that the total working-day of the girls was nearly as long as that of the boys, who spent more hours at field work. On the last day of field work the total number of hours worked by one-half of the 162 white children reporting hours and by three-fifths (61.7 per cent) of the 256 negro children reporting was at least 8 hours; one-third (32.1 per cent) of the white and two-fifths (42.6 per cent) of the negro children had worked 10 or more hours. A few children, 6 white and 3 negro, reported working a total of 14 or more hours.

Duration of work.

It is probable that, whereas most of the children under 10 or 12 years of age, as well as most of the older girls, were employed only intermittently during the rush seasons, when every available hand was needed to get the produce to market, the majority of the older boys and some of the older girls worked from March or April, when the first plowing and planting was done, to September or October, when the last crop was harvested.

In one family, for example, were three girls aged 15, 12, and 10 and one boy aged 13. The eldest girl did a great deal of farm work, as her father, who was a carpenter, worked on the farm only in the evenings and on Sunday, and her mother was occupied with housework and caring for the younger children. She, as well as her 13-year-old brother, during the months of April and May plowed and

harrowed, and planted corn, beans, and potatoes; also, during May they transplanted tomatoes, sweet potatoes, and cabbage, and during the summer months cultivated, hoed, and weeded all the different crops and picked four different kinds of vegetables; in September they gathered potatoes. Except for plowing, the two younger girls did the same kinds of work. In the months of April, May, September, and October the mother said the work of the children was irregular; in the summer months they worked regularly every day except when it rained. On the day before the agent's visit each child had worked 10 hours—from 7 a. m. to 12 and from 1 to 6 p. m. The work of the older boys may be illustrated by the work experience of a 14-year-old negro boy. He had worked 7 days in April hoeing strawberries, 21 days in May planting corn and picking strawberries, 7 more days in May hoeing strawberries and sweet potatoes. In June he had spent 14 days picking strawberries and peas and in hoeing strawberries and an equal amount of time hoeing tomatoes and picking raspberries. Almost every day in July he had worked picking either beans or raspberries and 27 days in August picking blackberries.

No information could be obtained except in comparatively rare cases regarding the number of days worked during the year or the number of days worked consecutively. In the absence of data showing how protracted were the periods of work it is impossible to determine to what extent the long hours worked by the boys 12 and 13 years of age and over may have been physically injurious.

Earnings.

The amount of money hired children earned during the season is impossible to estimate. Children who were hired by farmers other than their parents were usually paid the prevailing rates for piecework by the basket or by the row. The prices for picking were from 25 to 30 cents for a five-eighths bushel basket of beans, 30 to 35 cents for a bushel of peas, 4 cents for a five-eighths bushel of tomatoes. Some children who weeded and hoed were paid by the row; the rate, which varied with the length of the row and the amount of grass in each row, was usually from 10 to 25 cents a row. One child of 11 earned 40 cents in five hours by weeding 8 rows of strawberries. When the children were paid for general farm work by time the rates widely varied with each farmer and each child, the children usually receiving from 10 to 30 cents an hour. These rates sometimes varied with the age of the child and the kind of work. One child, for example, received 10 cents an hour for weeding tomatoes and 15 cents an hour for dropping sweet potatoes. Another child received 15 cents for dropping and 20 cents for setting. One child of 5 years was given 10 cents a day for dropping sweet potatoes.

The children who worked for their own parents were not usually paid in money. That some of the less prosperous farmers considered their work an economic necessity is illustrated by the observation of one father who owned 40 acres: "We farmers poor; can't pay help, so the children must work to keep shoes on us all and food in the house."

FARM WORK AND SCHOOLING.

However difficult it may be to determine the extent to which children's work on truck farms in these areas may be detrimental to their welfare in other respects it is clear that for many children it resulted in considerable loss of schooling. The compulsory school attendance law of Maryland contains no clause allowing children to be excused from school for farm work. Since 1916, when a compulsory attendance law was passed applicable to all the counties in the State,[6] children between the ages of 7 and 13 have been required to attend school during the entire period of each year when the public schools are in session.[7] Children 13 and 14 years of age are required to attend school at least 100 days as nearly consecutive as possible, beginning not later than November 1, and the whole term unless regularly employed; children 15 and 16 years of age, who have not completed the elementary-school course, interpreted as completion of seventh grade, are also required to attend school a minimum of 100 days.

Most of the 216 white and 319 negro children between the ages of 6 and 16 years included in the present study were enrolled in school during the school year preceding the survey, but 25, or 11.6 per cent, of the white children and 35, or 11 per cent, of the colored children were not enrolled. Eighteen of these 25 white children either were between the ages of 7 and 13 or were children of 13 or 14 who were required to attend at least 100 days unless regularly employed, or were 15-year-old children who had not completed the seventh grade and were therefore legally required to attend school a minimum of 100 days if not regularly employed. With three exceptions, the 35 negro children between 6 and 16 not enrolled ought legally to have been in school, but 17 were unable to attend, inasmuch as the school in their district was not in session during the year of the survey.

[6] Maryland Laws, Acts of 1916, ch. 506. The law here summarized is the county school law and does not apply to Baltimore.

[7] Children may be excused for "necessary and legal absence," but by-law 46 of the State board of education provides that absence from school within the compulsory attendance ages shall be considered lawful only under the following conditions: Death in child's immediate family, illness of child, quarantine, court summons, physical or mental incapacity, and weather conditions such as would endanger the child's health or safety when going to and from school. (Maryland Public School Laws, 1922. Maryland State Board of Education, Baltimore, 1922.)

Whether or not the children not enrolled in school had stayed out primarily for farm work is not known. Over two-fifths of the 124 white children and three-tenths of the 196 negro children who were enrolled in a school and who reported on absence had been absent for farm work.[8] (Table 7.) Of the white children 15 per cent and of the negro 11 per cent had stayed out for work on the farm 30 or more days or 6 school weeks.

TABLE 7.—*Absence from school on account of field work of children in resident families; Anne Arundel County.*

Absence from school on account of field work.	Children between 6 and 16 years of age attending school.					
	Total.		White.		Negro.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	475	.....	191	.....	284	.....
Reporting as to absence: Total	320	100.0	124	100.0	196	100.0
No absence for field work	209	65.3	73	58.9	136	69.4
Less than 10 days	26	8.1	15	12.1	11	5.6
10 days, less than 20	30	9.4	11	8.9	19	9.7
20 days, less than 30	15	4.7	6	4.8	9	4.6
30 days, less than 40	10	3.1	3	2.4	7	3.6
40 days, less than 80	18	5.6	8	6.5	10	5.1
80 days and over	12	3.8	8	6.5	4	2.0
Not reporting	155	.....	67	.....	88	.....

Those who reported the longest periods of absences were usually older boys who, as previously explained, did the greatest amount of field work. Of the 40 children of both races who were absent for field work 30 or more days, all except 7 were boys. One 13-year-old boy who had completed only the third grade was 51 days late in entering school and reported in addition 31 days' absence for farm work. His two brothers, who were 14 and 15 years of age, respectively, had each completed only the fourth grade but were not attending school at all. In a Polish family were two boys of 12 and 14 who had completed the first and second grade, respectively. They had attended school not more than 30 days during the past school year, had entered after Christmas and withdrawn early in March. They had stayed out in January and February to get wood and do other household chores. Their mother in explaining their absences said that she regretted having to keep them out of school, but "when you ain't got no dollar, you got to put in your 10 fingers."

One negro mother who could not remember the number of days her two children had missed school in order to work said that when there was farm work to be done the children "dropped off right smart" in their school attendance, "but occasionally went to school a few days." One of the negro fathers in commenting on the short terms of the negro schools said they "had to close" before the straw-

[8] The number of days the child was absent from school was secured from the school records and the reasons for the child's absence were obtained from the parents during the home interview.

berry season. The smaller proportion of negro than white children absent from school on account of farm work is due to the fact of shorter terms in the negro schools. Unlike the white schools they were closed during May and June; that is, during the strawberry and bean picking season.

All the absence for farm work reported by 27 white and 22 negro children from 7 to 12 years of age, inclusive,[9] was illegal, as was that also of 4 white and 15 negro children 13 or 14 years of age attending school less than 100 days and that of five 15-year-old negro children who had not completed the seventh grade and who had attended less than 100 days. Thus, according to the statements of their parents, at least 73, or almost one-sixth of the 462 white and negro school children between the ages of 7 and 16 employed on truck farms in the area had been illegally absent for farm work during the school year preceding the survey.

The majority of white children included in the present study had little excuse for nonattendance on account of distance, bad weather, and the like, as they attended a school providing transportation by motor bus; but some of the negro children had a long distance to walk—no transportation was provided and one-fourth lived 2½ miles or more from the nearest schoolhouse. Of the 167 white and 217 negro children for whom attendance records were secured, 12 per cent of the white and 15 per cent of the negro had attended school less than one-half their respective school terms. Most of the negro children attended schools which were in session 138 days as compared with the 187-day session of the school which most of the white children attended. Thus the actual number of school days attended by the negro was much less than that attended by the white children: 118 (70.7 per cent) of the white but only one-fourth (27.8 per cent) of the negro children attended school 120 or more days, and less than one-fifth (18 per cent) of the white but nearly two-fifths of the negro had attended less than 100 days.

Although many factors combine to cause retardation among school children it is generally acknowledged that irregular attendance is one of the principal causes of a child's failure to make normal progress. The school time of rural children especially is subject to interruption on account of bad roads, bad weather, and distance from school. When to these absences is added absence for work on the farm, it is not hard to understand why the boy or girl of 12 or 13 is so frequently to be found in the primary grades.

When the irregular attendance is taken into consideration it is not surprising to find that 50 per cent of the white and 71 per cent

[9] Age as of Sept. 1, 1921. The age as of this date makes the children 1 year older than they were at the beginning of the school year for which the absences were reported (1920–21), so that except in the case of the two 7-year-old children, who might have been absent for farm work before they were 7 years of age during the school year covered by the inquiry and so outside the provisions of the compulsory school attendance law, the figures present a minimum statement of the amount of illegal absence among the children in the study.

of the negro children between the ages of 8 and 16 were below average grades for their ages.[10] (Table 8.) The large proportion of white children who were retarded is due largely to children of foreign-born parentage whose attendance records were less satisfactory than those of children of native white parents and who were also considerably more retarded. The result of the high percentage of retardation among negro children is that large numbers never finish the elementary-school course. Of 104 negro children, 13, 14, or 15 years of age, only 12 had completed as much as the seventh grade.

TABLE 8.—*Retardation of children in resident families, by age and race; Anne Arundel County.*

Age[1] and race.	Children between 8 and 16 years of age attending school.													
	Total.	Retarded.							Normal.		Advanced.		Not reported.	
		Total.		1 year.		2 years.		3 years and over.						
		Number.	Per ct.[2]	Number.	Per ct.[2]	Number.	Per ct.[2]	Number.	Per ct.[2]	Number.	Per ct.[2]	Number.	Per ct.[2]	Number.	Per ct.[2]
White	180	90	50.0	45	25.0	27	15.0	18	10.0	78	43.3	3	1.7	9	5.0
8 years, under 10	36	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	29	.....	3	.....	2	.....
10 years, under 12	50	24	48.0	17	34.0	6	12.0	1	2.0	23	46.0	.....	.....	3	6.0
12 years, under 14	53	32	60.4	15	28.3	7	13.2	10	18.9	21	39.6	.....	.....	.....	.....
14 years, under 16	41	32	.....	11	.....	14	.....	7	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	4	.....
Negro	265	189	71.3	52	19.6	52	19.6	85	32.1	65	24.5	5	1.9	6	2.3
8 years, under 10	55	21	38.2	14	25.5	7	12.7	.....	.....	30	54.5	3	5.5	1	1.8
10 years, under 12	70	41	58.6	17	24.3	18	25.7	6	8.6	24	34.3	2	2.9	3	4.3
12 years, under 14	68	62	91.2	15	22.1	17	25.0	30	44.1	6	8.8	.....	.....	.....	.....
14 years, under 16	72	65	90.3	6	8.3	10	13.9	49	68.1	5	6.9	.....	.....	2	2.8

[1] Age as of Sept. 1, 1921. [2] Not shown where base is less than 50.

How the progress in school of these children compares with that of city children is shown in Table 9. This table, which gives the average retardation rates for white children between 8 and 16 years of age, is based on the records of over a million children in 80 cities compiled by the United States Bureau of Education. Twice as many of the children in age groups from 11 to 15, inclusive, included in the study were retarded as would have been retarded according to average rates.

Although rural children tend to enter school somewhat later than city children, a circumstance which would of course influence the grade attained at a specified age, the ages at which the retarded white

[10] The age basis on which the retardation of these children was calculated is that adopted by the U. S. Bureau of Education. Children of 6 or 7 years are expected to enter the first grade, children of 7 or 8 the second grade, etc. Normally a child is expected to complete one grade each year; children, therefore, were considered retarded if they had not entered the second grade by the time they reached the age of 8 years, the third grade at 9 years, the fourth grade at 10 years, etc.

children in the present study entered school probably did not affect their school standing, for nearly all had entered school before their eighth birthday. One factor which probably did affect to some extent the unusually high rate of retardation among the older children as compared with the average is that in the counties in which the areas included in the study are situated duller children are kept in school by the legal requirement that they attend up to the age of 16 unless they have completed the seventh grade, whereas in many of the cities from whose retardation statistics the average is computed children 14 years of age and over who are eligible for working papers are not required to attend school and thus a "weeding out" of the less interested and presumably less able children automatically takes place.[11] The long absences for farm work reported by the older boys can not but be considered an influential factor in their strikingly high rate of retardation, even when allowance is made for other possible causes of failure.

An amendment to the school law passed in 1922,[9] after the study was made, providing that the State will pay the salary of one attendance officer if the county will furnish means of transportation for him will undoubtedly increase the number of attendance officers in some counties and insure at least one such officer in every county, thus strengthening the enforcement of attendance of both white and negro pupils. A further provision also passed in 1922 lengthening the term of the negro schools from 140 to 160 days should also make it possible for the negro children to make better progress in school.[12]

TABLE 9.—*Retardation of children in resident families in Anne Arundel County as compared with average retardation among city children.*[a]

Age.[b]	White children between 8 and 16 years of age attending school.			Average rate of retardation.[a]
	Total.	Retarded.		
		Actual number.	Expected number.[c]	
Total	180	90	50	.....
8 years, under 9	21	.....	2	10.5
9 years, under 10	15	2	2	15.5
10 years, under 11	25	9	5	21.6
11 years, under 12	25	15	7	26.9
12 years, under 13	28	18	9	32.4
13 years, under 14	25	14	9	36.5
14 years, under 15	23	19	9	37.8
15 years, under 16	18	13	7	37.3

[a] Based on average rates of retardation for different ages among 1,142,179 pupils in 80 cities, unpublished figures furnished by the U. S. Bureau of Education.
[b] Age as of Sept. 1, 1921.
[c] Number expected at average rates of retardation.

[11] The Maryland child labor law, however, provides that, "The State Board of Labor and Statistics shall have the discretion of issuing temporary permits to children over 14 years of age, who are mentally retarded and are unable to make further advancement at school, upon the written recommendation of the superintendent of education" of Baltimore or any county. Maryland, Session Law of 1920, ch. 434, sec. 36A.
[12] Maryland Laws, Acts of 1922, ch. 382.

MIGRATORY CHILD WORKERS IN ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY.

From the middle to the end of May every year, when strawberries, beans, and peas are about ready to be picked, Polish families migrate from Baltimore to the truck farms of Anne Arundel County. Trucks laden with household goods, wooden chests, washtubs, kitchen utensils, and feather beds with women and children seated on top may be seen any day at this period of the year moving out from the southeast part of Baltimore toward the country.

Owners of large truck farms in Anne Arundel County, unable to obtain sufficient local labor for the picking season, make a practice of recruiting additional labor from the city. The farmer's agent, the "row boss"—so called because he has the duty of assigning the picker to a row of beans or strawberries—engages the workers, usually his friends and neighbors in the city, and often secures the same families for several successive years. Of the 145 [13] white migratory families visited in the course of the present study, over two-thirds had worked on farms 3 or more seasons; 21 had worked 11 or more, though not necessarily on the same farm. The row boss explains to them the arrangements made by the farmer—there is no contract between the family and the farmer. They are expected to provide their own food and bring their bedding and kitchen utensils. The farmer provides sleeping quarters, lumber from which to make tables and benches, and transportation to and from the farm. Workers are usually expected to finance themselves through the season, though occasionally the farmer provides credit.

Most families expect to remain on the farm throughout the season, but the majority of the families visited expected to stay from 6 to 8 weeks, a number less than 4.[14] After leaving the truck farms the workers usually return to the city. A few (9 families), however, stated that during the preceding year they had "followed the work," from the berry fields of Anne Arundel County to tomato or other kinds of canneries. Of these 9 families 5 had gone to canneries in the far South, 1 to Balabtry, Ala., another to Louisiana. One family that had gone to Biloxi, Miss., reported that their permanent residence was Baltimore. Their itinerary for the preceding 12 months had been as follows: May 15 to July 15, the truck farms of Anne Arundel County; July 15 to August 15, Baltimore; August 15

[13] Five negro families who did seasonal work were also visited, but as their living conditions were more nearly like that of resident farm laborers they are not included in the following discussion.

[14] The season of 1921, from 6 to 8 weeks, was shorter than the typical season owing to poor crops.

to October 1, the tomato canneries of Chestertown, Md.; October to November, Baltimore; November, 1920, to May, 1921, the oyster and shrimp canneries of Biloxi, Miss.

THE WORKERS' FAMILIES.

Most of the seasonal workers in this area are Poles. Thus, the fathers in 126 of the 145 white families included in the study had been born in Austria or German or Russian Poland; 9 fathers were of other Slavic or German origin. In only 7 of the 145 families had the mothers been born in the United States. These families were by no means recent immigrants—only 1 father and 4 mothers had been in this country less than 10 years; 9 out of 10 of both fathers and mothers had been in the country 15 or more years—some had come over when they were children. But living as they did, segregated in a Polish district in the city, the mothers especially were often unable to speak English. The mother in 85 families had not learned the language; 66 of these mothers had lived in the United States at least 15 years. Forty-three fathers also were unable to speak English. A large proportion were illiterate.

The men were, for the most part, unskilled laborers who did outside work in metal factories and packing houses or day labor in the streets or on the docks. About one-third of the women (most of them widows) worked while in the city, as a rule in canneries, in addition to their six weeks of field work in the summer. In practically all the families the mothers and many of the fathers and their children went to the country together. In the year of the survey, when all kinds of work were affected by the unemployment situation, over one-half (56 per cent) of the men went with their families for the picking season. Some of these men reported that they had held steady jobs, but had been persuaded by the row boss that they would make more money in the country. Others said that they had quit their city jobs because they had wanted a change or a "vacation." The amount and extent of unemployment reported among these families in 1920–21 was large, and no doubt abnormal. In only 31 families had the chief breadwinner been steadily employed throughout the year preceding the study. A large proportion had been out of work four months or more. In no case, however, did the family rely on their earnings in the country to carry them through the year. Except for families who went to the far South in the winter, such earnings were regarded as supplementary to their regular income.

The families represented by these workers are considered by social workers of the district where they live in Baltimore to be thrifty and hard working. It is significant that of the whole group of 145 only 4 families had moved their permanent residence in the five years

preceding the survey, practically all returning to their Baltimore homes when the picking season was over. As an illustration of their thrifty habits it is said that when families return from the country with $100 or $200 their custom is to buy supplies for the winter, when work may be slack. One or 2 barrels of flour, 1 or 2 tons of coal, and several bushels of potatoes are laid in; the mother also puts up tomatoes and piccalilli. One of the fathers who had asked a charitable society to find a home for his children, as the mother had died, had spent $50 on clothes and shoes for them on his return from the country. It is interesting to note that of 25 of the families who were registered with social agencies of Baltimore, not necessarily with relief agencies, 12 were buying or owned their houses.

CAMP LIFE.

Seasonal workers are housed by the farm owners on their own land in what are referred to locally as camps. Twenty-five of these camps were visited and families whose children were working on farms were found in 22 of them. In these 22 camps 268 families, consisting of 1,074 persons, including approximately 550 children under 16 years of age, were living.

Most of the camps contained but one building, known as a "shanty," which served as sleeping quarters for the workers. This building, usually two stories high, was erected on piles or rough stones. In most camps it was weather beaten or unpainted and the windows usually lacked either glass or shutters or both. As a rule there was but one room on each floor, with stairs on the outside leading to the upper room. In some a partition divided the lower floor, which was about 25 by 30 feet, into two rooms. On each side of a narrow aisle down the center of the room the floor was divided into sections or pens by boards 10 or 12 inches in height. Each pen was about 6 feet long and from 4 to 6 feet wide and covered with straw for a mattress. (See illustration facing p. 26.) Each family was allotted one of these pens, the larger families sometimes securing those 6 feet in width. At night men, women, and children, partially clad, one family separated from the next by the plank 10 inches in height, lay side by side.

Except for wooden chests at the foot of the bed spaces, and a shelf around the room, on which were miscellaneous possessions, there were no furnishings. Clothes were hung on nails about the walls. The bed space was covered with straw upon which sheets and blankets were folded or rolled in balls in a corner.

In some shanties one or two families had made futile attempts at privacy by hanging up a blanket. In one camp, among the poorest in appearance, with weather-stripped boards, sagging roof, and no glass in the windows, the families succeeded in attaining a degree of

privacy. They had rigged up wires from one beam to another and had hung up an assortment of spreads and blankets about each family section. (See illustration opposite.) One of the smaller shanties, partitioned by the farmer into three rooms downstairs, also had one room upstairs. Only 9 families lived in this shanty: Three upstairs; downstairs, 2 in one room, 3 in another, and the row boss and his family by themselves in the third.

TABLE 10.—*Number of persons in shanties occupied by migratory white families, by number of sleeping rooms in shanty; Anne Arundel County.*

Number of persons in shanty.	Migratory white families.					
	Total.	Number of sleeping rooms in shanty.				
		1	2	3	4	6
Total	145	23	89	13	12	8
Less than 10	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....
10, less than 20	10	5	3	2	.....	.....
20, less than 30	15	5	7	3	.....	.....
30, less than 40	42	7	25	4	6	.....
40, less than 50	19	.....	19	.....	.....	.....
50, less than 60	16	4	4	.....	.....	8
60, less than 70	9	.....	9	.....	.....	.....
90, less than 100	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
100 and over	10	.....	.....	4	6	.....
Not reported	12	1	11	.....	.....	.....

Attempts at orderliness were made by many families. Some, in the absence of screens or glass panes, had put up lace curtains in the windows as a protection against flies. Many camps, however, were untidy or dirty; in one, for example, the bedding was thrown about, and chickens were sitting on the straw of the bunks; in another, where the quilts, soiled bedding, and hay were strewn about, the families said that on Saturday they had a thorough cleaning "to be nice for our visitors on Sunday" and that then "the shanty looks grand, just like a hospital."

Many of the shanties containing two such rooms used for sleeping purposes were often occupied by from 30 to 50 persons of both sexes and all ages. Over three-fourths (77.2 per cent) of the families interviewed lived in a shanty of one or two rooms (Table 10), and over one-half (53.8 per cent) shared one or two rooms with from 30 to 100 persons. One shanty, divided into four rooms, was occupied by 9 families containing 36 persons, a less crowded condition, but another shanty of four rooms housed 100 persons. Another shanty in which were six rooms was occupied by 8 families, a total of between 50 and 60 persons. Two families only had a shack to themselves.

Cooking and eating arrangements were fairly adequate. Each family had its own stove and table built under the trees surrounding the shanty. The farmer provided fuel for cooking, lumber for

making tables and benches, and bricks and sheet iron for stoves. If the father or older boys of a family were ingenious they constructed very serviceable tables and benches with rude shelters over them to keep out rain and sun. The campers made community ovens of bricks or clay such as may be seen in villages in "the old country."

Usually each family was responsible for keeping clean the space about its own shelter. Waste water was usually thrown out on the spot where it was used. Some of the garbage was burned; in one camp tin cans and other refuse were thrown down the edge of a bank into a stream; in another, a hollow place between the camp and the farmer's orchard was used. One camp which had been occupied for several successive years and the grounds not cleaned between seasons was rendered unsightly by piles of tin cans and other refuse. Usually flies swarmed over stray bits of food.

Little attention was given to sanitation. More than one-half the families had no toilet facilities. The odors pervading camps, even those provided with privies, were offensive. Twelve of the 25 camps had no privy, and only 1 had toilet arrangements which could be considered adequate. The latter had 3 well-constructed privies which were cleaned twice a week by the children sent by the row boss for the purpose. These privies, however, served for a camp of 72 persons. One camp had 3 privies, all in bad condition, and another had 5. A description of those 5, which had been constructed by the pickers themselves and not by the farmer, will serve to illustrate the general problem. A piece of old burlap, not larger than half a gunny sack, was hung up on a low bough of a tree or stretched across the branches, behind which was a crude seat. There were no pits, but 4 of the privies were located over a brook, which at no place was more than 50 yards distant from the tables and stoves of the camp. In another camp about 50 yards distant from the shanty the workers had improvised a toilet by setting a narrow board across two other narrow boards over a small stream. The place was foul smelling and infested with flies and the woods were frequently used in preference to it. In another camp the pickers had used the privy of a neighboring negro family.

Some of the privies were dangerously near the water supply. Two camps, for example, were situated on the same stream; the 5 privies of the first of these emptied into the stream; the second camp adjoined the first 100 yards downstream. Both camps used the water for washing but not for drinking. The spring of the first camp, however, though carefully protected from dirt by a wooden cover, was so near the privies that the water might easily have been polluted. In another camp the privy, in itself fairly clean, though it had to suffice for 65 persons, was located over the creek and just

above where the children were accustomed to wade. In still another camp the spring looked very attractive; it was protected with white-pine boarding and the water was clear; but no privy existed in this camp, and the workers were obliged to use the woods about the spring.

Sixty-five families reported that they used a spring or brook for both drinking and washing purposes; 66 others had dug wells. Only 11 families, all living in the same camp, had access to a drilled well, 80 feet deep. The well in one camp could not be used, because it was said to be contaminated, and the spring was dry. The farmer in this camp hauled two barrels of water a day from his well for the 30 campers. When the women complained that they could not do their washing he advised them to "wait until it rains." In some of the camps the well was conveniently located on the camp grounds, in others the water had to be carried.

In spite of the unsatisfactory living quarters, criticism of which was often voiced, camp life was considered by some of the workers a vacation, and the fresh air was said to be "good for the children." There were no organized amusements, but the children played games, went in wading in the brooks or swimming in the creeks, used the swings which were occasionally provided by the farmer or the hammocks brought by the families from the city. Mouth organs or accordions furnished music in some camps; one camp had a grafanola, and several young men in two other camps played the violin or banjo. The older children and young people in these camps danced in the evening, folk dances as well as modern dances. Singing, especially of "songs of the old country," was also popular.

To go to Baltimore in the farmer's truck on Saturday for provisions was one of the recreations of older persons. Two farmers, one of whom used a motor boat, allowed the children to accompany their parents to the city "for the ride." On Sunday the fathers who had stayed in town, or other visitors, came out, sometimes bringing food, or newspapers, or candy for the children. Books were very scarce, and less than one-fifth of the families had newspapers. Only two families went to church, but in one camp some of the families went to the woods on Sunday for a religious service. One father who took a "furlough" from his steady job on the railroad every summer said that being in a camp "was the nearest to a picnic that he had."

The farmers excuse the makeshift living arrangements on the score that the season, not more than eight weeks and usually about six, is in the warm weather and so short that housing is of no importance, disregarding the fact that exposure to the possibility of infection through insanitary conditions is a serious matter, however temporary. Moreover, the farmers say that the workers do not object and are accustomed to worse surroundings. One farmer stated that

FAMILY SECTIONS IN SEASONAL WORKERS' SHACK SEPARATED ONLY BY BOARDS 10 INCHES HIGH.

INTERIOR OF SHANTY CURTAINED FOR PRIVACY BY THE WORKERS.

BEAN PICKERS.

PRIVY WITH NO PIT. CONSTRUCTED BY THE WORKERS.

he had put up partitions making 52 rooms, but that the families had torn down the partitions. His two-story shanty was 50 feet long and 20 feet wide, so that each partitioned space, besides the entrance passage, could not have been more than 4 by 9 feet. The families told the agent they had felt suffocated in such close quarters and had had to get air at all costs.

Although undoubtedly some families were indifferent to the promiscuous sleeping conditions and none appeared to fear polluted drinking water, criticism was heard both of the lack of toilets and the overcrowding and lack of privacy. Those who had been to the "tomato country" compared the two places. "There each family has their own shack, two rooms and a stove, like in Baltimore; here we are like fish in a barrel." One mother who had four rooms in the city said to the bureau agent, "We got to like it. People like separate rooms, but farmer he say too much expenses." Others spoke of the difficulty of changing their clothes in the woods, which were full of people. One of the row bosses expressed himself in broken English: "Women, boys, and girls sleep all together. No good." Another family said that their children learned bad habits from the others and that, although lack of employment had caused them to come to the farm this year, they would not try it again. The desire to earn a little extra money seems to have influenced a great many families. "It was the last piece of bread that made me do it," said one mother. Many families described the way in which they lived as "like hogs," "like sheep," and "like cattle beasts."

CHILDREN'S WORK ON TRUCK FARMS.[15]

In the white migratory families 136 boys and 126 girls did field work. They were on the average older than resident children working on truck farms in the neighborhood. Of the latter 29 per cent were under 10 years of age, whereas only 14.5 per cent of the migratory child workers were less than 10 years of age. Older children predominated; two-thirds were in age groups from 12 to 15 years of age, inclusive. The labor of young children, who help their parents on small farms by picking beans and putting them in the baskets of their mothers or older brothers, is not of sufficient commercial value to be used on the large farms. The children of seasonal workers were not considered old enough to work until they could "carry a row," though on one farm the row boss had assigned two younger children to a row.

The work is usually the same as that done by adult seasonal workers in the area—picking beans, peas, or strawberries. (Table 11.) Approximately the same proportions of mothers and children included in the study had worked on the three crops; over nine-

[15] The following discussion excludes 6 negro migratory workers found in the area.

tenths of both groups had picked beans, more than four-fifths had picked strawberries, and about three-fourths had picked peas. Only a few children reported any other type of work; 23 reported weeding at some time during the previous 12 months; 1 boy reported planting and another transplanting sweet potatoes. Only 11 children had worked on more than three crops.

TABLE 11.—*Crops picked by children in migratory white families, by sex of child; Anne Arundel County.*

Crops picked.	Children under 16 years of age picking each specified crop.					
	Total.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Total	262	100.0	136	100.0	126	100.0
Strawberries	216	82.4	116	85.3	100	79.4
Beans	241	92.0	124	91.2	117	92.9
Peas	193	73.7	102	75.0	91	72.2
Tomatoes	8	3.1	6	4.4	2	1.6
Cherries	1	.4	1	.7	.....	.....

Because of poor crops the hours and days worked were said to be more irregular than usual, and long hours of work were exceptional. As most of the survey was made during the bean season, over four-fifths of the children had picked beans on the day for which hours were reported. The hours of children who did other work, 16 per cent of the total, including children who had picked or weeded strawberries and three who had cultivated beans, were as irregular as those of children who had picked beans, and were usually shorter. The usual length of the working-day was less than 8 hours, one-half of the children reporting less than 6 hours. Although short working-days were the rule, there were some exceptions. One-fifth (20.2 per cent) of the children had worked 8 or more hours on the sample day; 6 per cent, or 9 boys and 6 girls, had worked 11 hours. One of the boys was 8 years and one girl 9 years of age.

These irregular hours, dependent on the state of the weather and the crop, were the hours set by the row boss for the whole camp. With few exceptions children 8 and 10 years of age worked the same hours as older children and adults. Occasionally, however, children went to the field to "scrap a few beans" and then returned to the camp; in one camp, on account of scarcity of work, the children picked only in the morning, while adults picked both morning and afternoon. More freedom was allowed during the season of the survey than was customary, on account of the scarcity of work; most families, however, kept steadily at work.

The hour at which the pickers started work depended partly on the crop. For strawberry picking the hour was later than for beans.

In some camps the row boss called the families as early as 4 or 4.30 a. m. On the sample day for which information regarding hours was secured over half the children (55.3 per cent) had been in the fields before 6 o'clock. In some camps the pickers went to the fields before breakfast, picked two or three hours, returned to the camp for breakfast, picked until noon, and again in the latter part of the afternoon. One row boss reported that the hours on his farm, where there were over 100 workers, were in ordinary seasons 4.30 to 8.30 a. m.; 9.30 a. m. to 12 m.; and 3 p. m. to 6 p. m., but during the season of 1921 the hours were from 4.30 to 8.30 a. m. only.

Not only were the hours irregular, but on some days there was no work. Some of the workers interviewed were discouraged, saying that the crops were so poor that they could not make even their expenses—that is, the cost of their food.

The exact number of hours worked in a week and the amount of work done could not be ascertained from most of the families. The rates paid the workers varied little, though some farmers paid half a cent less for strawberries or 5 cents more for beans. The rates varied slightly also according to whether or not the berries or vegetables were plentiful or scarce. The usual rates were as follows: Strawberries 2 to 2½ cents per quart, beans 25 to 30 a bushel basket, and peas 5 cents more than beans. Weeding was paid for at the rate of 10 cents an hour. The rates for peas and beans were usually 5 cents less than they had been the previous season.

Few families could estimate the amount earned by individual children on the last day worked. The method of payment made separation of individual earnings difficult. When the child or other worker emptied his bushel basket of beans he was given a small brass check. The children's checks were usually held by the parents, and at the end of the week, or, more likely, at the end of the season, the checks were redeemed by the farmer.

The amount earned by the family as a whole on the last working-day before the agent's visit may be seen from Table 12. This table includes only 118 families who picked beans. Daily earnings were low, seldom over $3, even for families of three and four members. Only 10 families earned as much as $5 on the sample day; 40 earned less than $2. The maximum earnings reported were those of a family of four, including the father, that had picked 22½ bushels in 9½ hours and had earned $6.75.

How much a family could earn in the six weeks of the ordinary season was a question which few families could answer, because of the irregularity of the work during the season in question and the number of days when there was no work. An idea of possible earnings may be obtained from the statement of one family, though whether or not these earnings are typical or more than the usual

amount can not be stated. This family—the man, woman, and girl of 14 years—had earned from May 20 to June 24 the following:

Strawberries (400 quarts)	$10.00
Peas (29 bushels)	10.15
Beans (265 bushels)	79.50
Total	99.65

TABLE 12.—*Amount earned picking beans on the last working-day preceding agent's visit by migratory white families, by number in family picking; Anne Arundel County.*

Number in family picking beans.	Migratory white families picking beans.								
	Total.	Amount earned last day of work.							
		Less than $1.	$1, less than $2.	$2, less than $3.	$3, less than $4.	$4, less than $5.	$5, less than $6.	$6 and over.	Not reported.
Total	118	10	30	30	12	14	5	5	12
1	1	1							
2	22	3	9	4	1	1			4
3	57	4	13	19	6	4	4	2	5
4	23	2	5	5	3	3		2	3
5	15		3	2	2	6	1	1	

SCHOOLING.

Part of the picking season for which migratory workers are engaged, unfortunately coincides with the last month or six weeks of the school term. Through the generous cooperation of the Baltimore school authorities the Children's Bureau was able to secure statistics from the schools thought to be most affected by the exodus, showing the number of children leaving before the end of the term in order to work on farms. Although it is believed that the reports from some of the schools were not complete, nevertheless 523 children from these schools were reported to have left for farm work between March 26 and June 18, 1921, 376 having withdrawn during the weeks ending May 14 and May 21. The farms to which these children were said to have gone were in most cases located near Baltimore, in Anne Arundel County.

All the 246 school children included in the present study, with 3 exceptions, reported that they attended schools in Baltimore. All except 3 of the 16 children who had not been in school during the school year 1920–21 were under 8 or were over 14 years of age and so exempt, provided they were regularly employed, from the provisions of the compulsory school attendance law of Baltimore.[16] No

[16] The compulsory school attendance law for the city of Baltimore is slightly different from the attendance law for the counties. (See p. 17.) At the time of the study all children between 8 and 14 years of age were required to attend the entire school term unless legally excused (see p. 17, footnote 7) or unless physically or mentally incapacitated. (Maryland State Laws, acts of 1916, ch. 506.) The law was amended in 1922 (ch. 474) to include children 7 years of age.

child who had left a Baltimore school had entered school in Anne Arundel County. The younger children in these families generally attended parochial schools, entering the public schools only after they had been confirmed at the age of 11 or 12. Three-fifths of the children reported that they attended parochial schools, proportionately twice as many as attended public schools. The public-school term, usually longer than that of the parochial schools, was in 1920–21 from September 14 to June 24, 191 days. The length of the terms in six parochial schools attended by most of the children was from 166 to 185 days, the closing day being usually either June 14 or June 17.

The length of absence caused by leaving the city for field work may be seen in Table 13. Nine-tenths of the children left school at least 20 days before the end of the term; three-fourths withdrew 20 but less than 30 days before the close of school. From 4 to 6 weeks, therefore, was the usual amount of time lost for withdrawals for field work on truck farms. No child can well afford to lose as much schooling as this every year, but the loss is especially disastrous to school progress in the case of those children who are handicapped from the beginning by the fact that their parents are illiterate and do not speak the language of the country. The custom of the Polish parochial schools of giving time to the teaching of the Polish language probably also places many children at a disadvantage when, at the age of 12 or 13, they enter public school.

The result of irregular attendance is that a large majority of the children fail to pass from grade to grade at the normal rate, and so either spend several years longer on elementary-school work than they should or else leave school before completing the elementary grades. Of the children between 8 and 16 years of age included in the study, 69 per cent were retarded in school. (Table 14.) This rate of retardation is much higher than average rates for city children of various ages.[17] Thus, according to these rates, of the 51 child workers between the ages of 10 and 12 years migrating from Baltimore, 12 would have been retarded rather than 25, the number reported to be below average grades for their age, and of 88 of the Baltimore children between 12 and 14 years of age, 30 instead of 68 would have been retarded.

[17] See p. 20.

TABLE 13.—*Number of days lost at end of term by children in migratory white families, by type of school attended; Anne Arundel County.*

Type of school attended.	Children between 6 and 16 years of age for whom number of days school attendance was reported.							
	Total.	Number of days lost by withdrawing before end of term.						
		10 days, less than 15.	15 days, less than 20.	20 days, less than 25.	25 days, less than 30.	30 days, less than 40.	40 days, less than 50.	Not reported.
Total	143	3	7	66	37	23	1	6
Public	55	.....	.....	9	27	18	.....	1
Parochial	88	3	7	57	10	5	1	5

TABLE 14.—*Retardation of children in migratory white families, by age of child; Anne Arundel County.*

Age of child.[1]	Children between 8 and 16 years of age.													
	Total.	Retarded.								Normal.		Advanced.		Not reported.	
		Total.		1 year.		2 years.		3 years and over.							
		Number.	Per ct.[2]	Number.	Per ct.[2]	Number.	Per ct.[2]	Number.	Per ct.[2]	Number.	Per ct.[2]	Number.	Per ct.[2]	Number.	Per ct.[2]
Total	238	163	68.5	47	19.7	53	22.3	63	26.5	69	29.0	2	0.8	4	1.7
8 years, under 10	26	5	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
10 years, under 12	51	25	49.0	16	31.4	8	15.7	1	2.0	26	51.0	.....	.....	.....	.....
12 years, under 14	88	68	77.3	21	23.9	26	29.5	21	23.9	19	21.6	1	1.1	.....	.....
14 years, under 16	73	65	89.0	5	6.8	19	26.0	41	56.2	4	5.5	.....	.....	4	5.5

[1] Age as of Sept. 1, 1921.

[2] Not shown where base is less than 50.

CHILD WORKERS ON EASTERN SHORE TRUCK FARMS.

It was customary on the Eastern Shore truck farms for the children of the household to help with the farm work. Of the children between 6 and 16 enrolled in the schools of the areas included in the survey and reporting on the inquiry, 87 per cent of the white and 95 per cent of the negro had worked on truck farms during the preceding year.[18] Eight hundred and thirty-eight children, half of whom were girls, reported having worked on truck farms within the year preceding the inquiry.

THE WORKERS' FAMILIES.

The children working in the Eastern Shore areas were almost entirely of native white or negro parentage. The three counties studied have not been touched by recent immigrations; the percentage of foreign-born inhabitants in 1920, according to United States Census figures, was one-half of 1 per cent. In the 204 white families visited only two fathers had been born in foreign countries, one in Germany and one in England. One hundred and ninety-six negro families, almost as many as white, were included in the study, though negroes form somewhat less than one-third of the total population of the three counties. The disproportionately large number of negro families is due in part to the somewhat larger proportion of negro children in the area working on farms, in part also to the fact that the transient families coming in for seasonal work were negroes, and to some extent, perhaps, to the fact that the negro school districts corresponding roughly to the white school districts chosen for study included children from a larger territory than did the white school districts.

The great majority of the workers—four-fifths (82 per cent) of the white and three-fifths (62.1 per cent) of the negro—were children of farm owners and tenants; but 17.5 per cent of the white and 27 per cent of the negro were hired hands, most of whom lived within walking distance of the farms where they were employed, and a few, 5.7 per cent of the total, were children of negro migratory workers brought into the neighborhood for seasonal work. (Table 15.) Many of the farmers' children—those in over one-fourth of the white families and in nearly three-fourths of the negro families—worked as hired hands as well as on their fathers' farms.

[18] This information was obtained by visiting all children who were enrolled in the schools. Sixty white and 41 negro children did not report as to whether or not they had done farm work.

The majority, three-fifths, of the white children's fathers owned their farms.[19] Only one-third of the negro fathers, on the other hand, were farm owners. The same proportion of white and negro families, one-fifth, were farm tenants, owning no land of their own and farming as a rule on "shares"; that is, giving the landlord a percentage of their crop. Most of the fathers of the 70 white children who hired out as farm hands were not farm laborers, but those of the 119 negro children, with few exceptions, did farm work in addition to fishing, oystering, or work in other local industries. Most of the 50 migratory child laborers came from the adjacent counties, a few from near-by islands, and were housed on the farms where they worked.

TABLE 15.—*Working status of children in families interviewed, by sex and race; Eastern Shore.*

Working status of child.	Children under 16 years of age.					
	Total.		White.		Negro.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	840	100.0	399	100.0	441	100.0
Resident laborer	790	94.0	397	99.5	393	89.1
Home farm	601	71.5	327	82.0	274	62.1
Farm owned	408	48.6	229	57.4	179	40.6
Farm rented	193	23.0	98	24.6	95	21.5
Other farm	189	22.5	70	17.5	119	27.0
Migratory laborer	50	6.0	2	.5	48	10.9
Boys	415	100.0	201	100.0	214	100.0
Resident laborer	391	94.2	200	99.5	191	89.3
Home farm	304	73.3	170	84.6	134	62.6
Farm owned	204	49.2	121	60.2	83	38.8
Farm rented	100	24.1	49	24.4	51	23.8
Other farm	87	21.0	30	14.9	57	26.6
Migratory laborer	24	5.8	1	.5	23	10.7
Girls	425	100.0	198	100.0	227	100.0
Resident laborer	399	93.9	197	99.5	202	89.0
Home farm	297	69.9	157	79.3	140	61.7
Farm owned	204	48.0	108	54.5	96	42.3
Farm rented	93	21.9	49	24.7	44	19.4
Other farm	102	24.0	40	20.2	62	27.3
Migratory laborer	26	6.1	1	.5	25	11.0

While no attempt was made in this study to ascertain the incomes of any of the families, the financial status of the farmers' families can be gauged to some extent by the amount of land and live stock which they owned and the kind of house in which they lived. The small acreage reported by most of the farmers included in the study is characteristic of this area and of some other truck-farming localities also. The farm of from 50 to 100 acres, including truck and general crops, predominated. The white farmers were considerably more

[19] If a farmer owned as much as 3 acres he was classed as an owner although he may also have rented land.

prosperous than the negro, and usually operated larger farms. Of the farm owners and tenants reporting the size of their farms, two-fifths of the white, as compared with nearly nine-tenths of the negro, owned or rented less than 50 acres. Of the white farmers, 8 (7 per cent) owned 200 or more acres, whereas only 1 negro farmer owned as much as 100 acres. This man was much more prosperous than most of his negro neighbors; he owned a six-room, well-built house, an automobile, 2 horses, and a cow. A much larger proportion of white than negro farmers owned cows, farm animals, and automobiles. On the whole, the typical white farmer whose children worked appeared to be in moderate circumstances. The extremes are illustrated by two white farmers, one of whom owned 320 acres, a house with modern conveniences, including electric light, and an automobile, and who planned to send his 17-year-old daughter to college; the other rented 10 acres, lived in an unscreened, unpainted shack, could not read or write, and set little value on the acquisition of these accomplishments by his children.

The homes of the majority of the white children, whether or not they were children of farmers, were located in a thickly settled farming country where few of the houses were more than an eighth of a mile apart. The houses were usually two or three stories in height, containing from five to eight rooms, and were clapboarded and painted. The front yards were neat and some were bright with flowers. Many of these houses were screened, but other conveniences, such as running water and kitchen sinks, were rare. The houses occupied by negro families, many of which were unpainted and neglected in appearance, were situated in little villages or in groups behind the dwelling of the landowner for whom they worked. Some were surrounded by well-tilled fields, others were in clearings in the woods, corn being planted between the stumps of trees. Most of them were provided with a privy outside the house and a well and pump in the back yard.

Overcrowding among resident families of this area did not present so serious a problem as in the area surveyed in Anne Arundel County. Of the negro families in this area, 29 per cent, as compared with 32 per cent in Anne Arundel County, were crowded at the rate of two or more persons per room. Only 10 per cent of the white families of this locality reported two or more persons per room. (Table 16.) Room congestion among the small group of migratory families included in the present study was, however, more serious than that among residents, as the shacks provided for them by the farmer for the few weeks of their stay on the farm usually contained only from two to four rooms for several families.

Although the parents of practically all the children were native born, in one-fifth of the white families visited at least one parent could not read and write; in six families neither parent was literate. Illiteracy was also reported by one or both of the parents in two-fifths of the negro families living in the area, and was more common among farmers' families than among families whose children worked as hired laborers.

TABLE 16.—*Average number of persons per room in resident families, by race; Eastern Shore.*

Average number of persons per room.	White families.		Negro families.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	204	100.0	167	100.0
Less than 1	80	39.2	27	16.2
1, less than 2	103	50.5	91	54.5
2, less than 3	16	7.8	38	22.8
3, less than 5	4	2.0	9	5.4
5, less than 7	1	.5	.....	.....
7, less than 10	.....	.....	1	.6
Not reported	.....	.....	1	.6

CHILDREN'S WORK ON TRUCK FARMS.

Of the resident child workers, white and colored, 78 per cent were under 14 years and 33 per cent were under 10 years of age when interviewed. Only 13 of the 48 negro migratory workers were 14 years of age or over, and 11 were under 10 years of age. Most of the children in the area begin to work on the farms by the time they are 10 years of age. One hundred and two (60 per cent) of the 171 white and negro children who were between 14 and 16 years of age reported that they had started to do farm work before their tenth birthday. The age at beginning work was about the same whether the children belonged to families of farm operators or were hired farm hands. Negro children go to work when somewhat younger than white children, and white boys begin to work at earlier ages than white girls. Negro girls, however, usually go to work at as early ages as their brothers.

Kinds of work.

Children do various kinds of work on all the truck crops raised in the region. The principal crops are strawberries and Irish and sweet potatoes, but beans, tomatoes, cucumbers, and melons are also extensively grown. Children are also employed on general crops, the most important of which are hay, wheat, and fodder corn. The farmers' children included in the study did a greater variety of work

than those who were hired by the day, although hired hands whose homes were in the district were, like farmers' children, employed for both harvesting and for general farm work, such as hoeing.

The migratory workers had been hired only for strawberry picking. Normally large numbers are engaged for the three or four weeks of the strawberry season, but relatively few migratory laborers were hired for the work in 1921, the year of the survey, on account of the poor strawberry crop. The children in seasonal workers' families interviewed were all employed, regardless of their ages, at picking strawberries. Whether they worked every day during the three weeks or so of their stay on the farm and whether the hours they worked were long or short depended on the weather and the state of the crop. Twenty-two of the 48 negro children reporting had worked eight or more hours in the field on the last working-day preceding the interview. Because the numbers are too small to draw any general conclusions, they are not included in the following discussion of the work done by children on the truck farms of the area.

Practically all the children who do field work help at harvesting time. More than four-fifths of the total number interviewed reported strawberry picking, a large proportion—one-half the white and three-fifths of the negro children—reported gathering Irish or sweet potatoes, and smaller numbers had picked tomatoes, blackberries, beans, cucumbers, or melons, crops not so widely grown in this locality. (Tables 17 and 18.) The younger as well as the older children pick strawberries, and many of them also gather potatoes. All the 23 children under 6 years of age who reported working in the fields, including a 3-year-old negro child and 9 white and negro children 4 years of age, had picked strawberries, which was the only work done by most of them. No children under 6 had gathered potatoes, but more than one-third of the 238 white and negro children who were between 6 and 10 years of age reported this work. (Table 18.)

Although picking tomatoes, melons, and cucumbers is somewhat more difficult work for children than picking strawberries or gathering potatoes,[20] 19 per cent of the total number had picked tomatoes, 11 per cent cucumbers, and 8 per cent melons. Most of these children were 10 years of age or more, but 34 of the 152 children who picked tomatoes and 15 of the 86 children who picked cucumbers were under 10 years of age.

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[20] See p. 9.

TABLE 17.—*Crops picked by children in resident families, by sex and race; Eastern Shore.*

Crops picked, and sex.	Children under 16 years of age picking each specified crop.					
	Total.		White.		Negro.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Total	790	100.0	397	100.0	393	100.0
Strawberries	659	83.4	319	80.4	340	86.5
Beans	111	14.1	35	8.8	76	19.3
Peas	8	1.0	.....	.....	8	2.0
Tomatoes	152	19.2	92	23.2	60	15.3
Cucumbers	86	10.9	31	7.8	55	14.0
Melons	61	7.7	30	7.6	31	7.9
Blackberries, raspberries, and huckleberries	128	16.2	51	12.8	77	19.6
Other fruits and vegetables	4	.5	2	.5	2	.5
Boys	391	100.0	200	100.0	191	100.0
Strawberries	309	79.0	153	76.5	156	81.7
Beans	53	13.6	17	8.5	36	18.8
Peas	3	.8	.....	.....	3	1.6
Tomatoes	82	21.0	50	25.0	32	16.8
Cucumbers	47	12.0	16	8.0	31	16.2
Melons	40	10.2	18	9.0	22	11.5
Blackberries, raspberries, and huckleberries	45	11.5	17	8.5	28	14.7
Other fruits and vegetables	3	.8	2	1.0	1	.5
Girls	399	100.0	197	100.0	202	100.0
Strawberries	350	87.7	166	84.3	184	91.1
Beans	58	14.5	18	9.1	40	19.8
Peas	5	1.3	.....	.....	5	2.5
Tomatoes	70	17.5	42	21.3	28	13.9
Cucumbers	39	9.8	15	7.6	24	11.9
Melons	21	5.3	12	6.1	9	4.5
Blackberries, raspberries, and huckleberries	83	20.8	34	17.3	49	24.3
Other fruits and vegetables	1	.3	.....	.....	1	.5

Carrying hampers of tomatoes and cucumbers makes the work hard for young children. Cantaloupes and watermelons are also heavy to handle. In harvesting cantaloupes the children's work on the Eastern Shore consists in picking melons up from the ground and putting them into a hamper, which is usually, though not always, carried off the field by an adult. Watermelons are rolled out into the row by children and are then collected by the driver of a wagon which is driven across the fields.

Children of all ages, girls as well as boys, did some kinds of planting and transplanting. Two hundred and eighty children, nearly one-half the boys and one-fourth of the girls, reported planting one or more crops. (Tables 18 and 19.) Of these children three-fourths had planted or replanted corn, over one-fourth had planted Irish potatoes, and one-sixth melons or cucumbers. Planting potatoes by hand and the second planting of corn are, it will be remembered, simple operations which can be done by young children, but the operation of the hand and the machine corn planters, the latter in general use on the Eastern Shore farms, is more difficult. Information was not obtained, except in a few instances, as to whether the children did machine or hand planting.

TABLE 18.—*Ages of children in resident families doing each specified kind of field work, by race; Eastern Shore.*

Kind of field work, and race.	Children under 16 years of age doing each specified kind of field work.										
	Total.	Under 8 years.		8 years, under 10.		10 years, under 12.		12 years, under 14.		14 years, under 16.		Age not reported.
		Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	
White	397	58	14.6	70	17.6	82	20.7	98	24.7	89	22.4	.....
Plowing	79	.....	.....	3	3.8	16	20.3	27	34.2	33	41.8	.....
Harrowing	63	.....	.....	1	1.6	12	19.0	24	38.1	26	41.3	.....
Planting	161	11	6.8	22	13.7	36	22.4	47	29.2	45	28.0	.....
Cultivating	96	.....	.....	3	3.1	18	18.7	39	40.6	36	37.5	.....
Hoeing	181	7	3.9	20	11.0	42	23.2	52	28.7	60	33.1	.....
Weeding	66	5	7.6	8	12.1	19	28.8	21	31.8	13	19.7	.....
Spraying	20	1	.....	1	.....	2	.....	5	.....	11	.....	.....
Transplanting	156	13	8.3	23	14.7	31	19.9	51	32.1	39	25.0	.....
Thinning	102	6	5.9	13	12.7	25	24.5	29	28.4	29	28.4	.....
Picking	352	48	13.6	64	18.2	70	19.9	93	26.4	77	21.9	.....
Gathering potatoes	199	14	7.0	29	14.6	45	22.6	57	28.6	54	27.1	.....
Shucking or husking corn	40	1	.....	5	.....	5	.....	13	.....	16	.....	.....
Saving fodder[2]	141	8	5.7	22	15.6	33	23.4	41	29.1	37	26.2	.....
Negro	393	68	17.3	65	16.5	89	22.6	87	22.1	82	20.9	2
Plowing	72	.....	.....	.....	.....	16	22.2	24	33.3	32	44.4	.....
Harrowing	47	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	19	.....	19	.....	.....
Planting	119	5	4.2	8	6.7	30	25.2	37	31.1	39	32.8	.....
Cultivating	55	.....	.....	1	1.8	12	21.8	19	34.5	23	41.8	.....
Hoeing	196	12	6.1	17	8.7	48	24.5	61	31.1	57	29.1	1
Weeding	85	6	7.1	7	8.2	21	24.7	30	35.3	21	24.7	.....
Spraying	7	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	5	.....	.....
Transplanting	186	15	8.1	21	11.3	51	27.4	50	26.9	48	25.8	1
Thinning	83	7	8.4	9	10.8	21	25.3	25	30.1	21	25.3	.....
Picking	361	63	17.5	61	16.9	83	23.0	78	21.6	74	20.5	2
Gathering potatoes	230	14	6.1	28	12.2	56	24.3	69	30.0	63	27.4	.....
Shucking or husking corn	32	.....	.....	1	.....	9	.....	13	.....	9	.....	.....
Saving fodder[2]	140	7	5.0	17	12.1	32	22.9	46	32.9	38	27.1	.....

[1] Not shown where base is less than 50. [2] Includes pitching and stacking.

A large proportion of children, one-half the boys and over one-third of the girls, 342 in all, did one or more kinds of transplanting. (Tables 18 and 19.) Most of the children transplanted strawberries or sweet potatoes, or both, and some transplanted tomatoes. Nearly one-half the children reporting such work were under 12 years of age and one-fifth were under 10 years. The children under 10 years of age were likely to have dropped strawberry plants by hand, and many of the older children had both dropped and set strawberry plants.[21] Almost all the children who reported strawberry transplanting had done the work by hand, but those who reported transplanting sweet potatoes or tomatoes were likely to have worked with either a hand transplanter or the transplanting machine, which is widely used in this locality. An adult usually drives the transplanting machine, which is drawn by a team of horses, while two boys, known as feeders, sit on the machine on a platform almost level with the ground and drop the plants alternately at the proper intervals.

[21] For a description of hand dropping and setting see p. 12.

To keep up with the machine continual attention and rapid work are necessary.[22] The task is also disagreeable; as one boy said, "You sit all the time with your legs stretched out in front of you and they cramp, but there is no way to change your position. You are so near the ground that in dry weather the dust almost chokes you."

Twenty-three children reported that they had worked on transplanting machines, but it is probable that the total number was much larger. As many children did not specify whether they did machine or hand dropping or whether they dropped or set plants, the exact numbers can not be given.

Although children of all ages and of both sexes did picking and some of the younger as well as the older did planting and transplanting, few except older boys plowed, harrowed, or did cultivating with a machine. (Table 18.) Hoeing, weeding, and thinning were the only kinds of general work done to any extent by girls and children under 10 years of age. Hoeing was reported by 38 per cent of the white and by 43 per cent of the negro girls; over one-third of the boys of each race, but less than 2 per cent of the girls, reported plowing; about the same proportion of girls, but smaller proportion of boys, reported harrowing; a large proportion of boys reported cultivating. These operations require physical strength and knowledge of how to manage a horse or mule. The driver of the one-share plow still in general use on the Eastern Shore must be sufficiently heavy to hold down the plow as well as strong and skillful enough to guide it. Boys less than 11 years of age, unless they are unusually large for their age, are not strong enough to manage these plows. Of the 146 boys who reported plowing only 3, or 2 per cent, were under 10 years of age and more than three-fourths were 12 years of age or older. Few boys under 12 operated cultivating machines, although one 8-year-old boy was seen who was said to guide the cultivator as well as a man.

Besides these kinds of work children do a variety of other work on both truck and general crops. One-tenth of those included in the study were employed at shucking and husking corn, and over two-fifths of the boys and one-fourth of the girls did the work locally known as "saving fodder"; that is, cutting and tying the leaves and tops of cornstalks for drying after the ears have been shucked. Smaller numbers of children shocked wheat, cut hay, followed the plow to pick out loosened stubble, packed tomatoes and cantaloupes, sorted potatoes, cut off strawberry buds, picked off bugs from potato vines, or did other miscellaneous work.

The boys in farmers' families, both white and negro, were usually employed at a great variety of work, and the negro girls in farmers' families did more different kinds of work than the white girls. The

[22] Sweet Potato Growing, p. 19. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Farmers' Bulletin 999, Washington, 1919.

TURNING SWEET POTATO VINES BACK INTO ROWS BEFORE CULTIVATING.

CUTTING CORN.

work experiences of children who had done a variety of jobs may be illustrated by those of two of the children visited. One negro girl of 12 reported that in April and May she "drew" strawberry plants from the old beds, transplanted sweet potatoes, weeded Irish potatoes, hoed and picked strawberries, and replanted corn. In June and July she picked beans, hoed, and gathered Irish potatoes; in August picked tomatoes; and in September and October picked up potatoes and "saved" corn fodder. A white boy of 14—besides picking strawberries, tomatoes, and potatoes—cut hay, hoed several different crops, and drove a cultivating machine.

TABLE 19.—*Kinds of field work done by children in resident families, by sex and race; Eastern Shore.*

Kind of field work, and sex.	Children under 16 years of age doing each specified kind of field work.					
	Total.		White.		Negro.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Total	790	100.0	397	100.0	393	100.0
Plowing	151	19.1	79	19.9	72	18.3
Harrowing	110	13.9	63	15.9	47	12.0
Planting	280	35.4	161	40.6	119	30.3
Cultivating	151	19.1	96	24.2	55	14.0
Hoeing	377	47.7	181	45.6	196	49.9
Weeding	151	19.1	66	16.6	85	21.6
Spraying	27	3.4	20	5.0	7	1.8
Transplanting	342	43.5	156	39.3	186	47.3
Thinning	185	23.4	102	25.7	83	21.1
Picking	713	90.3	352	88.7	361	91.9
Gathering potatoes	429	54.3	199	50.1	230	58.5
Shucking or husking corn	72	9.1	40	10.1	32	8.1
Saving fodder [1]	281	35.6	141	35.5	140	35.6
Boys	391	100.0	200	100.0	191	100.0
Plowing	146	37.3	77	38.5	69	36.1
Harrowing	103	26.3	59	29.5	44	23.0
Planting	182	46.5	105	52.5	77	40.3
Cultivating	143	36.6	90	45.0	53	27.7
Hoeing	216	55.2	107	53.5	109	57.1
Weeding	97	24.8	44	22.0	53	27.7
Spraying	22	5.6	16	8.0	6	3.1
Transplanting	195	49.9	95	47.5	100	52.4
Thinning	121	30.9	70	35.0	51	26.7
Picking	341	87.2	171	85.5	170	89.0
Gathering potatoes	240	61.4	121	60.5	119	62.3
Shucking or husking corn	54	13.8	32	16.0	22	11.5
Saving fodder [1]	172	44.0	88	44.0	84	44.0
Girls	399	100.0	197	100.0	202	100.0
Plowing	5	1.3	2	1.0	3	1.5
Harrowing	7	1.8	4	2.0	3	1.5
Planting	98	24.6	56	28.4	42	20.8
Cultivating	8	2.0	6	3.0	2	1.0
Hoeing	161	40.4	74	37.6	87	43.1
Weeding	54	13.5	22	11.2	32	15.8
Spraying	5	1.3	4	2.0	1	.5
Transplanting	147	36.8	61	31.0	86	42.6
Thinning	64	16.0	32	16.2	32	15.8
Picking	372	93.2	181	91.9	191	94.6
Gathering potatoes	189	47.4	78	39.6	111	55.0
Shucking or husking corn	18	4.5	8	4.1	10	5.0
Saving fodder [1]	109	27.3	53	26.9	56	27.7

[1] Includes stacking and pitching

The length of the working-day.

The same marked differences between children of different ages and sexes evident in the kinds of work done were also shown by the number of hours they had worked. Negro children, though their work was not very different from that of white children, worked on the whole longer hours; younger children and white girls tended to work a shorter day than other groups.

As the survey was made during the strawberry season, a very large number had picked strawberries on the day for which information was secured, the last working-day before the agents' visit. This fact should be remembered when studying Table 20, as the children who had picked strawberries reported a somewhat shorter working-day than those who had done other truck-farm work.

TABLE 20.—*Field hours of children in resident families on the last working-day previous to agent's visit, by age and race; Eastern Shore.*

Field hours on a typical working-day, and race.	Children under 16 years of ago doing field work.											
	Total.		Under 8 years of age.		8 years, under 10.		10 years, under 12.		12 years, under 14.		14 years, under 16.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
White	397	100.0	58	100.0	70	100.0	82	100.0	98	100.0	89	100.0
Less than 4 hours	79	19.9	18	31.0	15	21.4	20	24.4	13	13.3	13	14.6
4 hours, less than 6	88	22.2	15	25.9	18	25.7	15	18.3	22	22.4	18	20.2
6 hours, less than 8	61	15.4	8	13.8	12	17.1	12	14.6	13	13.3	16	18.0
8 hours, less than 9	42	10.6	4	6.9	5	7.1	10	12.2	13	13.3	10	11.2
9 hours, less than 10	46	11.6	3	5.2	10	14.3	10	12.2	11	11.2	12	13.5
10 hours, less than 12	50	12.6	2	3.4	5	7.1	9	11.0	20	20.4	14	15.7
12 hours, less than 14	2	.5							1	1.0	1	1.1
Not reported	29	7.3	8	13.8	5	7.1	6	7.3	5	5.1	5	5.6
Negro	[1]393	100.0	68	100.0	65	100.0	89	100.0	87	100.0	82	100.0
Less than 4 hours[1]	43	10.9	11	16.2	10	15.4	8	9.0	8	9.2	4	4.9
4 hours, less than 6	64	16.3	8	11.8	15	23.1	16	18.0	16	18.4	9	11.0
6 hours, less than 8	75	19.1	9	13.2	10	15.4	19	21.3	14	16.1	23	28.0
8 hours, less than 9	45	11.5	7	10.3	8	12.3	9	10.1	12	13.8	9	11.0
9 hours, less than 10	50	12.7	2	2.9	6	9.2	14	15.7	15	17.2	13	15.9
10 hours, less than 12	79	20.1	12	17.6	9	13.8	19	21.3	20	23.0	19	23.2
12 hours, less than 14	7	1.8	2	2.9	1	1.5			1	1.1	3	3.7
Not reported	30	7.6	17	25.0	6	9.2	4	4.5	1	1.1	2	2.4

[1] Includes 2 children for whom age was not reported.

White children who worked on the home farm worked on the average shorter hours and less regularly than those who hired out. Forty-four per cent of the former reported that they worked less than 6 hours a day in the field, as compared with 33 per cent of the 70 children who worked out by the day. Six to 8 hours was the usual working-day of the latter group. The distinction between negro children in these two groups is not so clear, because so large a proportion of negro farmers' children also worked by the day for farmers

other than their parents. White children usually worked a shorter day than negro children, as Table 20 shows. The considerable number of children of both races who worked long hours should be noted; over one-third (37.5 per cent) of the negro children reporting had worked in the fields 9 or more hours, and 14 per cent of the white children and 23.7 per cent of the negro children had worked as much as 10 hours or more on the day preceding the inqury.

White girls worked shorter hours than white boys. Thus, 42 per cent of the boys but only 10 per cent of the girls, reporting the length of their day in the field, had worked 9 or more hours. White and negro boys from 12 to 16 years of age had the longest working-day. Of the boys 12 and 13 years of age 53 of the 99 had worked 9 or more hours and 35 had worked 10 or more hours. Of the 85 boys 14 and 15 years of age reporting hours, 41 had worked 9 or more hours and 25 had worked 10 or more.

The number of hours worked by children under 10 years of age was difficult to obtain accurately. The mothers of some of these young children, obliged to work in the field themselves, often took their children to the fields in order to look after them. Usually the children "picked a while and played a while," though occasionally they were kept steadily at work. In the age groups under 10 years were 128 white and 133 negro children who reported field work. Although a large group reported working less than 8 hours on the day preceding the agent's visit, 29 white children and 47 negro had worked 8 or more hours. (See Table 20.)

In addition to field work, nearly nine-tenths (88.2 per cent) of the girls did housework. Seven-tenths (71.4 per cent) of the boys worked at chores. Two-thirds of the boys who reported chores cared for stock, and one-fourth did milking; girls were more likely to feed chickens than to do any other kind of chore, but a few helped with the milking. Fewer negro than white children did chores, for negro families did not own as much live stock. When chores and housework are taken into consideration the total number of hours worked by the children is much longer than the hours they worked in the fields and the difference between the working-day of boys and girls is less marked. A large group of children worked at field work, chores, and housework combined between 10 and 12 hours a day. Of 114 white children in age groups under 10 years reporting on this point, 24 per cent had worked 9 hours or more; of the 248 in age groups from 10 to 15, inclusive, 46 per cent had worked 9 or more hours. A little girl of 10, for example, said that the day before the interview she had picked strawberries from 7 a. m. to 12 and from 3 p. m. to 6.30 p. m., besides doing housework and chores for 3 hours.

Duration of work.

Inquiry was made in this area as to the duration of field work during the year preceding the inquiry. Of 290 children 10 years of age and older who reported on this point, over three-fifths (61.7 per cent) had worked at least 30 days, not necessarily consecutively, and nearly two-fifths (37.2 per cent) had worked 60 or more days. Children under 10 years of age, on the other hand, usually worked less than a month, many of them less than 2 weeks, over four-fifths reporting that they had worked less than 30 days. (Table 21.) Some children, especially those over 12 years of age, reported working long periods such as 3 or 4 months. That children under 10 years of age are likely to work only a few days, while the older children work several months, is clearly illustrated by the reports of children in the same family. The 15-year-old boy in one colored family of 7 children reported working 6 months, including several days in February and October. His 14-year-old sister and his two brothers, aged 12 and 9, had each worked 3½ months; a sister 7 years of age had worked 20 days, and 4-year-old twins 2 days.

TABLE 21.—*Duration of field work of children in resident families, by age and race; Eastern Shore.*

Age and race.	Children under 16 years of age reporting duration of field work.										
	Total.	Under 1 month.				1 month, under 2.	2 months, under 3.	3 months, under 4.	4 months, under 5.	5 months, under 6.	6 months and over.
		Total.	Under 1 week.	1 week, under 2.	2 weeks, under 1 month						
White	218	132	60	26	46	38	13	17	10	2	6
Under 6 years	5	5	3	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6 years, under 8	32	27	18	3	6	3	1	1	.....	.....	.....
8 years, under 10	42	31	14	9	8	8	2	.....	1	.....	.....
10 years, under 12	43	24	6	8	10	9	1	7	2	.....	.....
12 years, under 14	43	25	10	5	10	7	4	3	3	1	.....
14 years, under 16	53	20	9	1	10	11	5	6	4	1	6
Negro	227	105	23	16	66	49	22	20	19	8	4
Under 6 years	4	4	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6 years, under 8	31	29	12	6	11	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
8 years, under 10	41	30	5	4	21	4	3	3	1	.....	.....
10 years, under 12	53	24	3	5	16	14	6	6	3	.....	.....
12 years, under 14	51	14	1	1	12	13	7	6	7	3	1
14 years, under 16	47	4	.....	.....	4	17	5	5	8	5	3

Earnings.

Hired children who pick strawberries, tomatoes, and other vegetables receive the rates current for the work, which are about the same for different farms. Children as well as adults received, as a rule, 3 cents a box for strawberries, 25 to 30 cents for a bushel basket of beans, and 4 to 5 cents for a five-eighths bushel of tomatoes. The amount children of the same age could earn at picking strawberries, for instance, was variable, depending on the speed with which they worked. The earnings of 12-year-old children working

an 8-hour day varied from 90 cents for 30 quarts of strawberries to $3 for 100 quarts. For hoeing and other general work children were paid by the hour, the rate depending on the individual farmer and the age of the child. Children under 12 years usually received from 10 to 15 cents an hour; that is, from 80 cents to $1.20 for an 8-hour day. Children 12 years of age and over received 15 or 20 cents an hour. The large proportion of children who worked only on the home farm usually received no wages, though sometimes a father said that he paid his children the current rate for strawberry picking. Parents considered their children's work of considerable economic importance. Two farmers, for instance, said that because they could not afford to hire "help" they were obliged to keep their children out of school. One of these had kept his two children of 10 and 13 years out of school to work in the fields for 20 and 66 days, respectively.

FARM WORK AND SCHOOLING.

Children included in the Eastern Shore study, like those in Anne Arundel County, were found to have lost considerable schooling on account of absences for farm work. It was, however, encouraging to find that the children in this area remained in school well into their teens. Practically all the children, both white and negro, were enrolled in school. Of those who were between 7 and 15 years of age, only 2 white and 14 negro children were not attending school; most of these children lived at least 2½ miles from school, but they were not exempt, as in some States, from the compulsory school law. Of the 15-year-old children, only 4 white and 3 negro had withdrawn from school, probably because of the requirement that children of this age must attend until the completion of the elementary grades and the fact that their progress in school had been slow.

Although most of the children were in school their progress was seriously interfered with by frequent and prolonged absences, one of the most important causes of which was the work which they did in the fields. Of 306 white children reporting on this point nearly three-fourths (74.2 per cent) had been absent from school for farm work. (Table 22.) Fifty-nine white children, one-fifth of the total number reporting, had stayed out of school for this purpose 30 or more days; that is, 6 or more school weeks. Twenty-two of these children, 21 of whom were farmers' children, had been kept out of school for work on the farm 60 or more school days during the year. One of these was an 11-year-old girl; the others, who were boys, were with three exceptions 12 years of age or older. One farmer, for example, who had kept his two boys aged 13 and 10 from school 79 and 34 days, respectively, stated that the older was kept out of

school longer, as he was strong enough to use the plow, harrow, and cultivator. A smaller proportion of negro than white children, probably because the negro schools closed before the first of May, gave farm work as the cause of absence. Over one-half (53 per cent) of the 290 negro children reporting had been out of school for farm work; 12 per cent stated that they had stayed out 20 or more days or 4 or more school weeks on this account; 6 per cent had stayed out 30 or more days, or 6 school weeks. Most of the 124 children (white and negro) absent 20 or more days were at least 12 years of age, but only 42 were 14 or over.

TABLE 22.—*Absence from school on account of field work of children in resident families, by race; Eastern Shore.*

Absence from school on account of field work.	Children between 6 and 16 years of age attending school.					
	Total.		White.		Negro.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	734	.....	377	.....	357	.....
Reporting as to absence: Total	596	100.0	306	100.0	290	100.0
No absence for field work	215	36.1	79	25.8	136	46.9
Less than 10 days	183	30.7	106	34.6	77	26.6
10 days, less than 20	74	12.4	34	11.1	40	13.8
20 days, less than 30	48	8.1	28	9.2	20	6.9
30 days, less than 40	26	4.4	17	5.6	9	3.1
40 days, less than 80	36	6.0	29	9.5	7	2.4
80 days and over	14	2.3	13	4.2	1	0.3
Not reporting	138	.....	71	.....	67	.....

Whether or not the absences for farm work were illegal depends, it will be remembered,[23] on the age of the child and on the number of days he had attended school. The 100-day provision undoubtedly created confusion in the minds of parents and furnished some who wished to keep their younger children out of school for farm work with the excuse of misunderstanding the law. Thus, one farmer whose boy of 14 years had stayed out of school a total of 74 days and whose 10-year-old girl had been absent 71 days told the agent that the "law only compels the children to make 100 days a year. I see to it that they do that because I don't want to pay the fine, but after that I keep them out to work all I need them." Of the school children from 7 to 12 years of age, inclusive,[24] 145 white and 83 negro had been absent from school for farm work during the school year preceding the survey, all which absence was illegal. Ten 13- and 14-year-old white children and 24 negro had been illegally absent for farm work, having attended school less than 100 days. The absence for farm work of 11 15-year-old children, 4 negro and 7 white, who had attended school less than 100 days and who had not

[23] See p. 17.

[24] Age as of Sept. 1, 1921. See note, p. 19. Thirteen of the white and 6 of the negro children may have been under 7 years of age when absent.

completed the seventh grade, was also illegal. Thus, 273, or 39 per cent, of the 701 white and negro school children between the ages of 7 and 16 employed on truck farms in the area surveyed had been illegally absent from school for farm work during the year covered by the inquiry.

Like children in other rural areas, these children can ill afford to lose time from school for farm work, as they inevitably lose much time also on account of bad roads, weather, and distance from school. From all causes combined nearly one-third of the white and negro children included in the present study whose records were obtained had attended school less than 70 per cent of the school term in their respective schools. About one-tenth (13.4 per cent of the negro and 11.2 per cent of the white children) had attended less than one-half the term. For the negro children in particular this meant very little schooling during the year inasmuch as the term in most of their schools was only from 136 to 140 days, as compared with from 175 to 181 days in the white schools. Partly on this account over one-half of the negro as compared with one-fourth of the white children who were included in the study and whose attendance records were found had attended school less than 120 days during the year preceding the inquiry.

Under these conditions it is impossible for children to complete a grade each year, as the average child is expected to do. Nearly two-fifths of the white children and seven-tenths of the negro children 8 to 16 years of age included in the study were retarded, the older children, as Table 23 shows, being more retarded than the younger.

The number of white children who according to average rates [25] would have been retarded is indicated in Table 24.

TABLE 23.—*Retardation of children in resident families, by age of child and race; Eastern Shore.*

Age and race.[a]	Children between 8 and 16 years of age attending school.													
	Total.	Retarded.							Normal.		Advanced.		Not reported.	
		Total.		1 year.		2 years.		3 years and over.						
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
White....	334	127	38.0	52	15.6	31	9.3	44	13.2	173	51.8	33	9.9	1	0.3
8 years, under 10	68	11	16.2	8	11.8	3	4.4	.....	.....	44	64.7	12	17.6	1	1.5
10 years, under 12	74	15	20.3	10	13.5	4	5.4	1	1.4	46	62.2	13	17.6	.....	.....
12 years, under 14	101	43	42.6	18	17.8	13	12.9	12	11.9	53	52.5	5	5.0	.....	.....
14 years, under 16	91	58	63.7	16	17.6	11	12.1	31	34.1	30	33.0	3	3.3	.....	.....
Negro....	318	228	71.7	63	19.8	58	18.2	107	33.6	83	26.1	7	2.2	.....	.....
8 years, under 10	68	29	42.6	21	30.9	8	11.8	.....	.....	36	52.9	3	4.4	.....	.....
10 years, under 12	77	57	74.0	20	26.0	15	19.5	22	28.6	18	23.4	2	2.6	.....	.....
12 years, under 14	88	68	77.3	11	12.5	19	21.6	38	43.2	19	21.6	1	1.1	.....	.....
14 years, under 16	85	74	87.1	11	12.9	16	18.8	47	55.3	10	11.8	1	1.2	.....	.....

[a] Age as of Sept. 1, 1921.

[25] See p. 20.

TABLE 24.—*Retardation of children in resident families in Eastern Shore group as compared with average retardation among city children.*[a]

Age.[b]	White children between 8 and 16 years of age attending school.			Average rate of retardation.[a]
	Total.	Retarded.		
		Actual number.	Expected number.[c]	
Total	334	127	95	.....
8 years, under 9	35	.....	4	10.5
9 years, under 10	33	11	5	15.5
10 years, under 11	38	5	8	21.6
11 years, under 12	36	10	10	26.9
12 years, under 13	60	23	19	32.4
13 years, under 14	41	20	15	36.5
14 years, under 15	55	29	21	37.8
15 years, under 16	36	29	13	37.3

[a] Based on average rates of retardation for different ages among 1,142,179 pupils in 80 cities, unpublished figures furnished by the U. S. Bureau of Education.
[b] Age as of Sept. 1, 1921.
[c] Number expected at average rates of retardation.

It will be seen that among children in the Eastern Shore areas more children of nearly every age group were retarded than would be expected at average rates, and that the retardation among those 13 years of age and older is especially striking. Of the 13-, 14-, and 15-year-old children 78 were below standard grades for their ages, instead of 49, according to average rates.

It has been noted, and Table 23 shows, that negro children were considerably more retarded than white. One-third of the total number were retarded three or more years. Of the 14- and 15-year-old children 87 per cent were retarded; of 85 children of these ages only 16 had completed the seventh or a higher grade. It would seem clear from this evidence that few negro children complete the elementary-school course. Negro children enter school late. Over two-fifths of those included in the study for whom age at beginning school was reported did not begin school until they were at least 7 years of age, one-eighth not until they were 8 or more; many of them lived some distance from a schoolhouse, and the school terms are shorter than those for white children. When to these disadvantages is added absence for farm work it will be seen that the negro children get comparatively little schooling. The recent increase in the length of the school term for negro children [26] should result in the Eastern Shore counties, as in Anne Arundel County, in increased opportunities for negro children to complete the elementary grades.

[26] See p. 21.

CONCLUSION.

A large proportion of children who live in truck-farming areas on the Eastern Shore and in Anne Arundel County work on the farms. Thus of 774 children under the age of 16 enrolled in the schools of the Eastern Shore areas included in the survey and reporting on the inquiry, nine-tenths had done farm work during the year preceding the study. In the Eastern Shore localities the workers are largely farmers' children; in the Anne Arundel area there are, in addition to farmers' children who work, large numbers of hired laborers, either negro children living in the area or white children who migrate from Baltimore for seasonal farm work.

Most children, both white and negro, under 10 years of age work a short day at simple kinds of work and for only a few days or weeks during the year, and their work, therefore, presents no serious problem. Most white girls do little more work than the young children of both races and sexes, but some of the older negro girls and a large proportion of white and negro boys 12 years of age or more, especially those in farmers' families, do a great variety of work, and many work 9 or 10 hours a day. In areas surveyed on the Eastern Shore many of these older children had worked a total of 60 or more days during the season from May to October. A working-day of 9 or more hours on the last day worked was reported by one-half the white and negro boys working on the Eastern Shore and by one-half the boys working on the farms of Anne Arundel County. It is probable that longer working-days than this were common, inasmuch as the hours reported were in a majority of cases for picking, work which did not require so long a working-day as did more general types of farm labor. Some of the simpler kinds of work, such as picking berries or hoeing, while monotonous, are likely to prove physically taxing only if kept up for long hours; but plowing, harrowing, machine cultivating, and some kinds of machine transplanting, which require skill and strength, are fatiguing even when done for only a few hours at a time. Such work in conjunction with long hours was reported by many of the boys 12 years of age and over. In order to safeguard this group of children from working beyond their strength at an early age and from the strain of excessive hours, some legal regulation as to minimum age and maximum hours for the work of children on farms at least in such occupations as these would appear to be desirable.

According to reports made by their parents, a majority of the white and negro children in both areas included in the study suffered a

loss of schooling on account of farm work. Nearly one-fifth of the white children had been absent for farm work 30 or more school days or 6 or more school weeks during the preceding school year. Fewer negro children lose so much time from school because of farm work for the reason that their schools are closed during a large part of the busy season on the truck farms. The appointment of a sufficient number of attendance officers for each county would help to protect children under 13 years of age from loss of schooling on account of the demands of the farm. In order to offer the same protection to children 13 years of age and over it would be necessary to abolish the provision of the State school attendance law permitting children of these ages to remain out of school after an attendance of 100 days.

One-third of the child workers on farms in the Anne Arundel area surveyed were migratory laborers. Their work, which is usually confined to the picking of beans, peas, or strawberries, is simple and probably not overtaxing if the working-day is not too long. The majority of the pickers in the present study reported a working-day of less than eight hours, although in seasons when the crops are more successful, seasons which are considered more typical than the one during which the present survey was made, working hours are said to be longer. It should be remembered, moreover, that most of these children were under 14 years of age. Migratory workers present, however, two serious problems, one connected with their schooling, the other with living conditions on the farms where they live during the picking season. The majority of the children lose from four to six weeks at the end of the school term in order to go out to the truck farms; over two-thirds of those included in the study were retarded in school, a retardation rate which for children from 10 to 14 years of age is about twice the average for city school children. At the present time neither city nor county authorities assume the responsibility of requiring these children who are of compulsory school age to attend school the entire term, although the State compulsory school attendance law furnishes the legal right to enforce attendance in these cases. No adequate administrative machinery for enforcement has, however, been devised. The housing provided for migratory truck-farm workers in these localities is so unsatisfactory that it appears to call for some public supervision, such, for example, as that exercised for a number of years in California,[27] in order that growing children may escape the physical and social effects of promiscuous and unhealthful living conditions.

[27] Advisory pamphlet on Camp Sanitation and Housing (revised, 1919), p. 5. Commission of Immigration and Housing of California, San Francisco, 1919.

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